

Selected Writings of Cyrus H. Gordon

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An Aramaic Incantation

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AN ARAMAIC INCANTATION

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The inscription under consideration, no. 9737 of the Iraq Museum catalogue,¹ is written spirally on the inside surface of a clay bowl, which measures 13.5 cm. across the rim and is 5 cm. high. It is composed in Babylonian Aramaic and dates roughly from the seventh century A. D. Its provenience is not known.

The practice of exorcising a demoness by serving a bill of divorce on her is already familiar from a group of five inscriptions that are parallel, in large measure, to the present one. The first of these texts was published by Ellis in Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 513; the second is a Mandaic charm in Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. I, Giessen, 1902, pp. 102-104; the third and fourth are texts 11 and 18 in Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913; and the fifth is text G of a series of Aramaic incantations which I am publishing elsewhere.²

In the following, restorations are bracketed; additions in translating, line numbers and other reader's aids, parenthesized. Uncertain letters are marked with an inferior point. Scribal omissions are supplied within < >, scribal plusses within { }.

Text

אפיכן לושתא על ברוזין בת מחיא על איסור (2) בגדינא {ו} מלכון
דריוא ושלטא רבה דל<י> ליחא אשבעית (3) עלכי חבלס ליליתא בת כרתה
ך<ז> רני לילי{לי} תא דשריא על (4) אסכופת ביתה דמחישי בת דודי
{ו} מחיא וסרפא דרתקי ודרתקתא מר (5) מיצי ומר מציתא אשבעית עלכי
דחמן בטפרס לל{בכי} ובמראנ'ת<י>ה דקתרוס גוברא הא כתבית (6) ליכי
ו.א והא תארכית יאתכי כמא דכתבין שירי גיטא לנש<י>הון ותוב לא חדרי
ושקור' (7) גטכי וקבר' מומרתני וקדחי ועקירי ופוקי מן ביתה ומן גופה
דמחישי בת דודי בשום רת מחץ מחץ מחץ (8) שם מפורש מיששית ימ<י>
בר<א> ש<י>ת הלל'ה (!) לישמך הלל'ה למלכותך צבירת צבירת יודנא
יודנא צבירת צבירת יודנא (9) יודנא לישמך אני עש<י>ת' תי אמן.

¹ Published with the kind permission of Dr. Julius Jordan, Director of the Iraq Museum.

² Texts A-F appear in an article entitled "Aramaic Incantation Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," *Archiv Orientalní*, VI (1934), pp. 319-334 (with 6 plates of autographed texts). Text G is called 'An Aramaic Exorcism' and will appear presently.

Translation

Upset are the curses upon Burzîn, the daughter of The Smiter. For the binding (2) of Bagdînâ, the king of the devil(s) and the great ruler of the liliths. I adjure (3) thee, O Lilith Hablas, the granddaughter of Lilith Zarnâi, who dwellest on the (4) threshold of the house of Mehîšâi, the daughter of Dôdâi, who smitest and burnest boys and girls. Mâr (5) Mîšî and Mâr Mešîtâ. I adjure thee that thou be smitten in the membrane of thy heart and with the lance of Qatrôs, the mighty. Lo I have written (a divorce) (6) for thee and lo I have expelled thee, as the demons write divorce(s) to their wives and again they do not return. Take (7) thy divorce and receive thine oath and flee and take flight and get out of the house and body of Mehîšâi, the daughter of Dôdâi. In the name of RT MĦŠ MĦŠ MĦŠ, (8) the Ineffable Name from the six days of creation. Hallelujah unto Thy name. Hallelujah unto Thy kingdom. ŠBYRT ŠBYRT YWDG' YWDB' ŠBYRT ŠBYRT YWDG' (9) YWDB'. For Thy name I have acted. Amen.

Notes

1. **בורזין בת מחיא** : Burzîn, as a masculine proper name, is cited by Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 74a. Here, however, it is feminine (unless **בת** be an error for **בר**). It seems that Burzîn is the arch-enemy of Mehîšâi (for whose protection the bowl is inscribed), and the curses that the former directed against the latter are ordered back to their sender; cf. l. 8 of text C. The mother's name, 'The Smiter' (in l. 4, the epithet of the lilith) is apparently used here in contempt and is hardly her actual name.

2. **בגרינא** : in Ellis and Montgomery. **בגרנא** ; in Lidzbarski, **אבוגרנא** ; in G, **בוגרנא**.

הון : The possessive suffix, 3 masc. pl., in these texts, is generally

הון : pl. in **א**. Cp. **דשידי וריא** (text G, l. 3) 'of the demons and devil(s)'. See also **גיטא**, in l. 6, which is paralleled by normally spelled plurals in all but Mont. 18. These plurals in **א** recall Syriac orthography.

רבה : As will be observed by glancing through the present inscription, post-positive *â* is usually **א**, and not **ה**, in these incantations.

3. **חבלם** : tallies with the form in G, against **חבסלם** in Ellis, **חלראם** in Lidz., **הלכס** in Mont. 11 and **כחלבם** in Mont. 18.

רני : For the restoration and reading, cp. **דורנאי** in G, l. 3.

לילי{ל}תא : The corruption may be intentional; cp. **{תא}תא** in the parallel, G, l. 3.

4. **רודי (בת) מחישי (ר)**: feminine proper names with the hypocoristic suffix *-âi*. The mother's name, **רודי**, occurs in Mont. 15:3.

מחיא וסרפא {י} : For other epithets of the lilith, see the parallel texts.

דרתקי ורתקתא : In both cases **ת** is dissimilated from **ר**.

מר מיצי ומר מציתא : Paralleled in G (see writer's note there) and Mont. 18.

5. **טפרס (ב)** : This form and the obviously corrupt parallels must equal the Talmudic **טרפשא** (א); see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 557b.

מורניתא : **ובמראנית** <י> is the usual spelling. Note that in this inscription, *â* is occasionally indicated by **א** in the middle of a word; cp. **תארנית** **יאתכי**, in the next line.

6. **והא** : **והא** : After writing **והא** faultily, without erasing, the scribe rewrote the word. In these texts, it is almost a rule to rewrite errors without erasing.

7. **רת מחץ וגו'** : magical words of unknown meaning.

8. **צוביכת** : The parallel in Lidz. is **צבירת**.

9. **לישמך אני עש** <י> **תי** : As often in these inscriptions, the magician acts in the name of the Lord, enhancing the efficacy of the charm.

אפיכץ לותרא על פורזין
בת נחית על אימור² כ. דינא
ומילכין דינא נשלישא רב
לליתא אשוכעית³ עלני ~~אשוכעית~~
ליליתא בת פרתה ידדי לליליתא
דשריא על⁴ אטפונות ביתה
דלחיהווי כח דודי ומחיא⁵ וסרנא
לדרגין ודרתקומא מר מניצ'
ונגד רעציתא אשנעית עלכי
דתני חן בנכורם ללכדי וכחלא לותח
דקתריוס גיבוא חא כחצית⁶ ליכיוסא
חא תאדכית יאתני כחא דכתבין
שו' י. היטא לנחומין ותגב וא
חדדין ונחקולי⁷ גבוכי וקבלי מולחפי
וקרלי ועקילי וביקי מן ביוח ומן
גיבא דמחישוי בת מניי נשום דת
מחץ מהין להין⁸ ניום נבראש
מיששית ותבדשת חלילה לישמע
מללויה לרעלכותן צביות צביות
וולגא ידבא צבילת צביות יודגא
יודגא לינומן אני עשרת אלף⁹



POINTS OF THE COMPASS IN THE NUZI TABLETS

Author(s): Cyrus H. GORDON

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POINTS OF THE COMPASS IN THE NUZI TABLETS

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In land transactions in the Nuzi documents¹, real estate is often bounded as in the following passage :

(N 297 : 3) *VIII imērē² III aweḫari³*
eqli⁴ (: 4) ... i-na su-ta-an
(: 5) ḫarrāni⁵ ša za-wa-ar-ḫi
i-na šu-pa-al (: 6) eqlimeš⁶ ša
má-a-ar-sa i-na il-ta-an (: 7)
eqlimeš⁶ ša mša-du-gi-wa ù a-na
e-li-en eqlimeš⁶ (: 8) ša
mšuk-ri-ia mār⁶ ti-ip-nu-šu-ur

8 homers (and) 3 awehari
of land ... to the south
of the road of Zawarhi,
below the field of
Uarsa, to the north
of the field of Šatugiwa and
above the field of
Šukriya, the son of Tipnušur.

While north (*iltānu*) and south (*sūtānu*) are mentioned specifically, east and west are regularly referred to as above (*elēnu*) and below (*šupālu*). Gadd conjectures that

1. For the literature on the subject, see 'Numerals in the Nuzi Tablets', *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXI (1934), pp. 53-60. The abbreviations, system of transliteration, etc., used in the latter study, will be employed also in the present one.

2. ANŠU.

3. GIŠ-APIN.

4. A-ŠÁ.

5. KAS^{meš}.

6. DUMU.

below is west and above east', but, even though this is as likely as not, it still remains unproved¹.

In only one of the published texts do we find all four cardinal points named unequivocally. In G 34, we read :

(: 5) <i>i-na pa-ni a-bu-ur-ri</i>	facing west,
(: 6) <i>i-na pa-ni (: 7) šu-ta-ni</i>	facing south,
(: 9) <i>i-na pa-ni ša-at-ta-ni</i>	facing east,
(: 11) <i>i-na pa-ni (: 12) iš-ta-na-ni</i>	facing north.

While the names of the cardinal points (*sūtānu*, *iltānu*, *elēnu* and *šupālu*) are rather uniform in the Nuzi tablets, there are variants, which are of interest in that they represent Hurrian and local Nuzi usage. Thus *w/buruḫli* is the native equivalent of *elēn* (*u/i/a*). Koschaker³ suggested this identification, which, in a subsequently published text, is confirmed by the scribe Iṭḫapiḫi, who obligingly supplies *elēn* as a gloss explaining *wuruḫli* : *ina wu-ru-uḫ-li e-li-en eqli* (N 257 : 7).

Local nomenclature appears in N 208 :

(: 5) <i>II imēre III aweḫari eqli ina</i>	2 homers (and) 3 awehari of land, by
<i>ista-a-a-ri mādi⁴ (: 6) ina</i>	the great standard, to the
<i>imše-ra-mu-ḫi ša dimit⁵</i>	south (?) of the district
<i>madad⁶ -bi-il-šū (: 7) ina</i>	of Adad-Bēlšu, to the
<i>impa-pa-ḫi ša dimit e-ni-ia</i>	north (?) of the district of Eniya.

Papahhi, being located near the upper Tigris⁷, is approximately north of Nuzi

1. The Babylonians used the terms 'above (upper)' and 'below (lower)' not only in defining land, but also in referring to the Mediterranean Sea ('Upper Sea') and the Persian Gulf ('Lower Sea'). In Akkadian literature, the 'Upper Land' often refers to Syria in the west (e. g., see Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, I, Giessen, 1930, p. 11). However, this need not hold for Nuzi of the fifteenth century (the approximate date of these inscriptions), since local terminology frequently prevails.

2. G, p. 87. No solid argument can be made of the order, in which the directions are given, since all sorts of combinations occur in Akkadian texts; see Jastrow, 'Babylonian Orientation', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXIII (1909), p. 202. Absolute uniformity is not to be found in these texts, as will be seen upon comparing the passage in question with those cited below.

3. *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit*, *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXIX, No. V (1928), p. 14.

4. GAL.

5. AN-ZA-QAR.

6. IM.

7. Dr. Albright calls the writer's attention to Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 225.

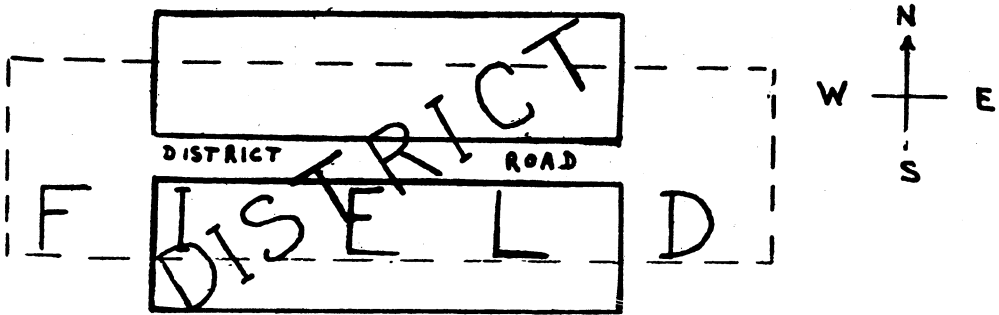
(Nuzi is about ten miles from the modern Kirkuk). Since *pa-pa-ḫi* is preceded by the determinative *IM*, it indicates a direction. Can it be that the town of Papahhi took its name from its *northern* location in Mesopotamia? In absence of evidence to the contrary, we tentatively equate *impa-pa-ḫi* with 'north'. *imše-ra-mu-ḫi* is also a direction, as shown by the determinative, but it is hard to identify it. In another passage¹ it is opposed to *buruḫlu* (see the paragraph after the next).

At N 263 : 5 *ina ta-ap-ta-a-[n]u*³ is probably a direction (with the characteristic suffix *-ān*), but, since it is a hapax legomenon (at least in the Nuzi tablets published so far), in an uninformative context, there is as yet no basis for identifying it.

In CS 2⁴, a field is defined as being :

(: 7) <i>ina dimti</i> (: 8) <i>ša a-ka-wi-pé i-na</i>	in the district of Akawipi
<i>šū-pa-al dimti</i> (: 9) <i>ū wu-ru-uḫ-li</i>	below and above the district
<i>ša dimti-ma</i> (: 10) <i>ša ḥarrān dimti</i>	(and) right and left
<i>imitti⁵ ū šumeli⁶</i>	of the road of the district.

We get the following impression of the relation among the district, its road and the field under consideration :



We know that *šupālu* and *wuruḫli* mean west and east in these texts, and therefore it seems that *imitti* and *šumeli* mean south and north. Now in this particular context

1. Cp. *ina impa-pa-aḫ-ḫi* (N 236 : 5), *i-na pa-pa-aḫ-ḫi ša ālta-i-šu-uḫ-wa* (N 23 : 6), *pa-ba-aḫ-ḫi* (N 232 : 8), and *ba-ab ba-ba-aḫ-ḫi* (N 256 : 9) 'the Papahhi Gate'. The identification of the Papahhi Gate will some day fix the meaning of *impapahhi*.

2. Written *še-ra-am-mu-uḫ-ḫi* (N 13:9). See also *i-na dimti še-ra-mu-uḫ-ḫu [š]a mki-ip-te-šup* (N 233 : 13).

3. In a much appreciated private communication to the present writer, Professor Landsberger suggests emending to *ša-at-ta-a-nu*.

4. The transliteration of Chiera and Speiser is not altered to conform with the system otherwise adopted here.

5. *ZAG*^{ti}.

6. *KAB*.

it would make no difference how one faced, since he would get the same result, whether *imitti* be south and *šumēli* north, or *vice versa*. However, in N 39, a field is bounded as follows :

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| (: 4) <i>i-na ḥarrāni ša . . a . .</i> | on the road of . . a . . |
| (: 5) <i>i-na šu-me-la' [š]a</i> | to the left of |
| <i>bitāti³ bi[+^a i]-na li-e-it</i> | the houses, on the border |
| (: 6) <i>bitātibi⁴ +^a ša mḥa-ši-ia</i> | of the houses of Ḥašiya. |

It appears that the same buildings are referred to both times that *bitati* is mentioned. Now 'left', in this passage, cannot well be taken in its primary meaning, because the direction implied by being left or being right of the buildings will depend entirely on how one faces. In a business document, ambiguity is inadmissible and so we must assume that *šumēla* is a definite direction. The same probably holds good for *šumēli* of CS 2:10, and consequently also for *imitti* there. On analogy with the Arabic (where شمال means both left and north, and يمين both right and south)⁵, for want of direct evidence, we tentatively identify *šumēlu* with north and *imittu* with south⁶.

The linguistic problems raised by the names of directions are far reaching. However, since he intends to discuss the peculiarities of Nuzi Akkadian in greater detail elsewhere, the present writer will be brief here.

Just as *šūtānu* 'southwards' is derived from *šutu* + *ān*, *elēnu* 'upwards' from *elū* + *ān*, etc., the Nuzians commonly used *-ān*, as a directive suffix⁷, at times even pleonastically. Thus beside *iltānu*, *sūtānu*, *elēnu* and *šaplānu*, we meet the unusual forms *iltānānu*/*istānānu* and *sūtānānu*/*sūtānānu*.

Rarely do we come across the adverbial suffixes *-iš*, as in *šapliš*; or *u/i/aššu*, as in *elēnuššu*, *elēniššu* and *šaplaššu*⁸.

Since Hurrian (= Mitannian) had no cases, in the sense that they exist in Semitic or Indo-European languages⁹, it is not so surprising to find that the same words in

1. Note also *i-na šu-mi-i [l]* (N 44 : 4).

2. *É*.

3. Cp. also Hebrew; see Gen. 14:15, Job 23:9 and Psalm 89:13.

4. However, see Tallqvist, 'Himmelsgegenden und Winde', *Studia Orientalia*, II (1928), pp. 124 ff.

5. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin, 1908, pp. 393 f.

6. See von Soden, 'Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, neue Folge VII (1933), pp. 110 f. On the origin of these forms, see p. 111, footnote 2.



7. Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 14 Jahrgang (1909), p. 45.

the same constructions end in *u*, *i*, *a*, or no vowel at all, depending on how the spirit moved the scribe. Accordingly, we find :

$$ina \left\{ \begin{array}{l} el\bar{e}n \\ el\bar{e}nu \\ el\bar{e}ni \\ el\bar{e}na \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} s\bar{u}t\bar{a}n \\ s\bar{u}t\bar{a}nu \\ s\bar{u}t\bar{a}ni \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i\bar{l}t\bar{a}n \\ i\bar{l}t\bar{a}nu \\ i\bar{l}t\bar{a}ni \end{array} \right\} eqli.$$

Of the phonetic changes in Nuzi Akkadian, only a few need be mentioned here. It will be noted that *iltānu* predominates over *istānu*. While the change *st > lt* is common in these texts, it is by no means a rule. Hence, on the one hand, *iltēn* 'is written to the exclusion of *istēn* 'one', but, on the other, we find *i/uštu* and not *ultu* 'from'. In the verb, *st > lt* is not consistent and we meet *uštērib* beside *ultērib*, and *aštapar* beside *altapar*².

The Hurrians did not distinguish surd from sonant stops and so we encounter cases of unclassical orthography such as *ša-at-ta-ni*, with *t* for *d*, and *šu-ba-al*, with *b* for *p*.

It will be noted that the initial syllable of *sūtānu* may be *SU*, *ZU*, or *ŠU*. *S* for *š* is a common though not consistent change in these texts. *ZU* for *SU* is quite normal in these documents. In fact, since *ZU* () is the simpler sign, being shorter than *SU* () by a horizontal stroke, it has almost entirely displaced the latter sign in these tablets. It is interesting to note that *SU*, in the Nuzi texts, is common only as the ideograph for *šiglu*⁴ and in *sutanu*.

It will be observed that *a-bu-ur-ri* occurs for *amurri*, and that *bu-ru-uḫ-li* is a variant of the more common *wu-ru-uḫ-li*. It appears that there was a bilabial, voiced, fricative sound³, indicated in these texts as *w*, *m*, *b* or zero. The best illustration of this phenomenon is supplied by *mušelmū* 'surveyor' and its variants : *mu-še-el-mu* (N 46:32), *mu-še-el-wu* (N 4:24), *mu-še-el-bu-ū* (N 13:30), and *mu-šal-ū* (H IX 102:37).

There follow the variant forms of *iltān(ān)u*, *sūtān(ān)u*, *šupālu*, *elēnu*, and *wuruḫli* :

1. See RA, XXXI, pp. 55-57.

2. CS 12 : 8, N 106 : 15 ; N 104 : 15, N 114 : 17.

3. Kramer, 'The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets', *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XI, p. 73.

4. Or perhaps a fraction of a shekel, as believed by Meissner; see Speiser, 'New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Security Transactions', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LIII (1933), p. 33.

5. This sound has been transliterated by some as *v*, which may lead to misunderstandings, in that English *v*, for example, is dento-labial, produced with the lower lip touching the upper teeth. The sound under consideration was more like English *w*, which is a true bilabial.

IL/ŠTĀN(ĀN)U'

i-na il-ta-a-an eqli (H V 87 : 6) 'north of the field'.

i-na il-ta-an harrāniⁿⁱ (H V 41 : 6, H IX 20 : 8, cp. N 29 : 8).

(H IX 35 : 4) *ša il-ta-an ù ša šu-pa-al* (: 5) *bitāti^{meš}*.

i-na il-ta-an-nu harrāniⁿⁱ (N 83 : 12).

i-na iltānu³ kiri³ (H IX 19 : 11).

(N 300 : 7) *i-na il-ta-an-ni* (: 8) *ti-i-li* 'north of the mound'.

i-na il-ta-ni harrāni (N 233 : 8).

(H IX 18 : 9) (*ina*) ... *iš-ta-na-an* (: 10) *a-tab-bi* 'north of the canal'.

iš-ta-na-an eqli (H IX 18 : 23) (without *ina*).

(*i-na*) *il-ta-na-an eqli* (N 27 : 9, N 85 : 6).

(H V 88 : 7) *i-na il-ta-an-na-nu* (: 8) *eqlāti^{ti}*.

i-na il-ta-na-a-nu ša dimti (N 92 : 6).

i-na il-ta-na-an-nu harrāniⁿⁱ (H V 89 : 5, H IX 99 : 5; cp. H V 56 : 8).

(*ina*) *iš-ta-na-nu* (N 36 : 6, N 279 : 9, RA XXVIII 1 : 8).

i-na il-ta-na-nu ša ... (N 68 : 8).

i-na il-ta-na-nu bitātibi + a^{meš} (H IX 21 : 17, cp. N 252 : 9).

(N 90 : 4) *i-na* (: 5) *imil-ta-na-nu i-na a-aḥ a-tab-bi* 'to the north by the bank of the canal'.

(G 34 : 11) *i-na pa-ni* (: 12) *iš-ta-na-ni*.

i-na il-ta-na-ni eqli (H V 85 : 6).

S/ŠŪTĀN(ĀN)U

(*ina*) *su-ta-a-an eqli* (H IX 103 : 6; cp. N 9 : 6, H V 38 : 12, H V 87 : 7).

i-na su-ta-an eqli (N 27 : 10).

i-na su-ta-an (H V 55 : 7).

i-na zu-ta-an eqli (H IX 20 : 10).

i-na šu-ta-a-an dimti (H IX 18 : 7).

i-na šu-ta-an eqlāti^{meš} (N 252 : 10; cp. N 87 : 9, N 204 : 8).

i-na su-ta-an-nu-ú eqlāti^{ti} (H V 88 : 6).

i-na su-ta-an-nu eqli (H V 89 : 8, N 85 : 10, N 219 : 5).

i-na zu-ta-an-nu (H IX 99 : 9).

i-na zu-ta-nu dūri⁴ (H IX 21 : 20) 'south of the wall'.

1. In N 231 : 11, ideographically : IM-SI-DI.

2. AN-TA^{nu}.

3. GIŠ-ŠAR.

4. BĀD.

i-na šu-ta-nu ša .. (N 42 : 6).

(N 300 : 4) *i-na su-ta-an-ni* (: 5) *ḫarrānini*.

i-na su-ta-ni eqli (H V 85 : 5, N 310 : 7).

(N 279 : 5) *i-na šu-ta-a-ni* (: 6) *i-na šu-pa-al mi-iš-ri ša ēkalli* 'to the south, (and) below the territory of the palace'.

(G 34 : 6) *i-na pa-ni* (: 7) *šu-ta-ni*.

(N 105 : 7) *i-na su-ta-na-an* (: 8) *eqli*.

i-na zu-ta-na-an dimti (N 268 : 14).

i-na šu-ta-na-nu (N 140 : 7, N 256 : 10).

SUPĀL(I/A), ŠAPLĀN, ŠAPLIŠ

i-na šu-pa-al kiri (N 2 : 7, cp. H V 56 : 7 *et passim*).

šu-pa-al āli (N 63 : 6).

i-na šu-ba-al ḫarrānini (H V 39 : 8, cp. N 31 : 7).

i-na ḫarrāni ša ālū-lam-me šu-ba-li (N 233 : 12) 'below the road of Ulamme'.

i-na ḫarrāni šu-pa-la (N 224 : 16) 'below the road'.

i-na šu-ba-la .. (N 95 : 5).

[*ina*] *šu-ba-la ša mte-ḫi-ip-til-la* (N 256 : 18) 'below (the property) of Tehiptilla'.

i-na ša-ap-la-an .. (N 99 : 6, cp. N 225 : 7-8).

*i-na šaplānu*³ *kiri* (H IX 19 : 10).

(N 251 : 9) *i-na dimti ša ma-ni-t[a]-ni* (: 10) *ša ša-ap-li-iš* 'below the district of Anitani'.

(N 287 : 10) *i-na* (: 11) *e-li-ni-iš-šu ū šu-pa-la-[aš-š]u* 'above and below'.

*ELĒNU/I/A*⁴

i-na e-li-en ḫarrāni (N 21 : 6, cp. N 231 : 10 *et passim*).

e-li-en eqli (H IX 18 : 8, 22) (without *ina*).

i-na e-li-en-nu-ū eqli (H IX 105 : 4).

i-na e-li-en-nu eqli (N 87 : 8, H V 56 : 10, H IX 99 : 8).

i-na e-li-nu eqli (N 85 : 9, cp. N 98 : 4-5).

i-na e-li-ni ma-ag-ra-at-ti (N 300 : 6, cp. N 30 : 4, H IX 21 : 18) 'above the threshing floors'.

e-li-ni ḫarrānimeš (N 80 : 5, cp. N 201 : 6) (without *ina*).

1. *Ē-GAL*^{li(m)}.

2. *ERI*.

3. *KI-TA*^{nu}.

4. What may be the Canaanite cognate of *elēnu*, has been found in the Ras eš-Šamra tablets, by Baneth, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXV (1932), p. 453.

(N 204 : 10) *i-na e-li-en-na i-na e-li-en-na'* (: 11) *kiri*.

i-na e-li-na kiri (N 29 : 10, cp. N 267 : 12).

(*ina*) *e-li-nu-uš-šū* (N 263 : 9).

(N 287 : 10) *i-na* (: 11) *e-li-ni-iš-šu*.

W/BURUḪLI

(N 176 : 7) *IV imēre eḡla ši-qa-a* (: 8) *ina wu-ru-uḡ-li ša dīmti* '4 homers of irrigated field above the district'.

ina imwu-ru-uḡ-li (N 261 : 8, cp. N 52 : 9, N 245 : 8).

(N 13 : 8) *eḡlāti^{mes} ša mḡu-ti-ia* (: 9) *i-na bu-ru-uḡ-li* 'above the fields of Hutia'.

The present writer owes sincere thanks to Professor W. F. Albright, who was good enough to read this article and make several valuable suggestions.

This article¹ is a part of the Nuzi Studies that a fellowship of the American Council of Learned Societies enabled the writer to undertake during 1932-1933.

1. Dittography.

2. The material presented in this study adds to our very limited knowledge of the Hurrian names of directions. See Thureau-Dangin, 'Vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra', Syria, XII (1931), pp. 241 f., where the following equations are given : *aš-ḡu-wv* = *e-liš*, *tu-ri-wv* = *šap-liš*, *aš-ḡu tu-ri* = *e-liš ū šap-liš*.



NUMERALS IN THE NUZI TABLETS

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NUMERALS IN THE NUZI TABLETS¹

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The documents under consideration were unearthed about ten miles from Kirkuk and date from about the fifteenth century B. C. The present writer, who is preparing a series of studies on the dialect, in which they are couched, intends to discuss these

1. The following abbreviations are used in the present study :

- AASOR : *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
AJSL : *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
CS : Chiera-Speiser, *Selected Kirkuk Documents*, JAOS, XLVII (1927), pp. 36-60.
Fam. Laws : Speiser, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws*, AASOR, X (1930), pp. 1-73.
G : Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk*, RA, XXIII (1926), pp. 50-161.
H V and H IX : *Harvard Semitic Series*, vol. V (Chiera, 1929) and IX (Pfeiffer, 1932), respectively.
JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
N : Nuzi texts published by Chiera in vol. I (texts No. 1-100), II (No. 101-221) and III (No 222-320) of the *Publications of the Baghdad School* (American Schools of Oriental Research), Paris, 1927, 1930, 1931.
RA : *Revue d'Assyriologie.*
Sec. Trans. : Speiser, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Security Transactions*, part I in JAOS, LII (1932), pp. 350-367; part II in JAOS, LIII (1933), pp. 24-46.
TCL : Contenau, *Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie*, vol. IX of *Textes cunéiformes* (Musée du Louvre), Paris, 1926.

Other titles are cited in full.

Revue d'Assyriologie, XXXI.

texts and present a full bibliography elsewhere'. The writer takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Professor E. A. Speiser for instruction that could not be recorded completely in footnotes and to the American Council of Learned Societies, for a fellowship to undertake these studies during 1932-1933.

Akkadian numerals are generally indicated ideographically and hence many numerical forms are imperfectly, if at all, known. The study of the Nuzi numerals is particularly important in that several of them, otherwise unknown, are written syllabically. The material here presented is, therefore, a contribution to Assyro-Babylonian grammar and lexicography as well as to the study of the Nuzi dialect.

Each syllabic sign is transliterated just as it is found in the cuneiform. While this system makes no effort to correct *ka-ta-du* (H V 46 : 18) to *qà-ta-tu*, etc., it has the virtue of not obscuring the peculiarities of the Nuzi dialect, that confront the reader in the original. The comparatively few diacritical marks used are according to Thureau-Dangin's system¹. Determinatives and phonetic complements are placed in the upper register. The male determinative is represented by *m*; the female, by *f*. References to tablets, words added in translating and other reader's aids are parenthesized; reconstructions, bracketed. (Transliterations taken from CS are not altered to conform to this system.)

Many of the forms discussed will be noted as discordant regarding number, gender or case and often but little uniformity can be detected in Nuzi usage. A typically knotty problem is that of rendering the Akkadian correspondent of the partitive genitive with numerals. (Fam. Laws, p. 8; Sec. Trans., I, p. 352). What case ending is one to assume for *eqlu*² as at H V 62:6, *III a-wi-ḫa-ri eqlu/i/a*? The nom. often occurs : (G 1 : 6) *IV imēr³ eqlu⁴* (: 7) *an-nu-tu(m)*, (G 1 : 9) *IV imēr*

1. For introductory material, the reader is referred to Contenau, *Les tablettes de Kerkouk et les origines de la civilisation assyrienne*, tome IX, fasc. 2-4, de *Babyloniaca* (1926); Chiera and Speiser, *A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East*, AASOR, VI (1924-1925), pp. 75-91; Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit, Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXIX, No. V (1928); Furlani (A review of the latter work), *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XII (1929), pp. 345-353; and Maisler, *The Kerkouk Tablets* (in Hebrew), Tarbiz, II (Jerusalem, 1932), pp. 184-197.

For texts and translations published prior to 1930, cf. Kramer, *The Verb in the Kirkuk Texts*, AASOR, XI (1931), pp. 62-119. Those that have appeared since are N, vol. II and III; H IX; Contenau, *Textes et monuments*, part I, RA, XXVIII (1931), pp. 27-39; Chiera, *A Legal Document from Nuzi*, AJSL, XLVII (1931), pp. 281-286; Fam. Laws; Sec. Trans.; and Chiera, 'Habiru' and Hebrews, AJSL, XLIX (1933), pp. 115-124.

2. *Le syllabaire accadien*, Paris, 1926; *Les homophones sumériens*, Paris, 1929.

3. A.ŠÁ.

4. ANŠU *meš*.

5. In the Nuzi documents, *meš* may follow any word ending in a vowel without implying plurality or length of the final vowel. It varies widely in form : (*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Heft I, Leipzig, 1907,

eqlu^{meš} (: 10) *an-nu-ú* 'these 4 homers of field', (H V 56 : 5) *VIII awiḫari' eqlu ši-ku-ú* '5 *awiḫaru* of irrigated field', (H V 15 : 46) *II alpu' damqu' umallā'* and (N 133 : 8) *XII imēr šēu' an-nu-ú* 'these 12 homers of barley'. The acc. is also common : (N 5 : 5) *I imēru V awiḫari eqla ši-qa*, (N 56 : 5) *III imēr eqla ši-qa*, (N 94 : 6) *II imēr eqla ši-qa*, and (H V 33 : 39) *II alpameš damqasa umallā*. The gen. is rare : (H V 59 : 13) *I imēr eqli an-ni-i*. Thus Nuzi usage favors the nom. and acc. but also allows the gen. for the partitive 'genitive'. In general, the Nuzi dialect is governed by the speaker's needs rather than by grammatical rules* and consistency is not to be expected.

ONE

The following are the forms of *iltēn* (regularly written with *l* for *s*) : *iltēn*, *iltēnu*, *iltēnūtu/i*, *iltēltu/i* and *ittēltu*.

a. ADJECTIVAL CARDINAL⁷

iltēnu :

*il-te-in mimmu-šu** (N 65 : 4) '1 portion (of) his (property)'.

iltēnūtu/i :




il-te-en-nu-tu(m) še-nu (acc.) (H V 17 : 10) '1 (pair of) boots'.



il-te-nu-tu(m) še-nu (acc.) (H V 76 : 6).







iltēnūtu^{en-nu-du} is ma-am-ri-e (H V 1 : 2).

il-te-en-nu-du ḫu-ul-la-an-nu (H V 6 : 10, cf. TCL 1 : 10), '1 robe'.

*iltēnūti^{nu-ti} is eršu** *an-nu-tu(m)* (H V 66 : 28) 'this one bedstead'.

No. 108 : 3) , (N 118 : 3) , (N 107 : 20)  (N 107 : 25) , (N 18 : 4) , and (N 233 : 14) .

In N 295, appears , which may be altered to  (*sic!*), after signs ending in a vertical stroke; e. g., (l. 4)

  *erū^{meš}* and (l. 7)   *bitu^{meš}*. However (ll. 6, 9, 16, 21)   *erū^{meš}*.

1. *GIŠ.APIN*.


2. *GUD*.

3. *SIG₃ku*.

4. *DIRIG*.

5. *ŠE^{meš}*.

6. Bork, *Die Mitannisprache, Mitteilungen der corderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 14 Jahrgang, 4 Hefte (1909), p. 46, notes this for Mitanni (= Hurrian), the native language of the Nuzians, that influenced the Akkadian dialect of these tablets.

7. Cardinal numbers, other than 1, are invariably written ideographically in the published texts. Cardinal 1 is written, now ideographically,  (before *biltu*, N 235 : 4, etc.); now syllabically; and now both together (H V 6 : 10).

8. *NÍG^{meš}.šu*.

9. *NÁ*.

b. SUBSTANTIVAL CARDINAL

iltēn(u) :

iltēn^{en}-šu ša mu-ti-ia (H V 74 : 9) '1 share of my husband's estate'.

iltēltu/i' :

il-te-il-tu(m) (H V 99 : 9) 'a single portion'.

it-ti-il-tu(m)* (H V 71 : 7) '1 share'.

With the meaning 'one part in three' 'one third', etc., correlatively with an expression for 'two thirds' :

(N 166 : 10) a-bu-ia ^mi-li-ki-ša (: 11) II-šu i-li-ig-gi ù (: 12) ^mte-ḫi-ip-til-la il-ti-il-t[u](m) (: 13) i-li-ig-gi 'my father, Ilikisha, two shares shall take, and Tehiptilla, one',

(H V 46 : 18) [at]-ta II ka-ta-du (: 19) li-gi-mi ù I'wa-ar-ḫi-ma-at-qa (: 20) il-di-il-tu(m) li-il-gi-mi 'you take 2 shares, and let Warhimatka take 1'.

c. SUBSTANTIVAL ORDINAL³

iltēnu :

(H V 96 : 1) II immerāti' ša il-ti-in-nu-ú (: 2) ba-aq-nu '2 ewes, of which the first has been plucked'.

iltēltu :

il-ti-il-du (H V 49 : 7)⁵.

d. MULTIPLICATIVE

iltēnu :

iltēnu^{nu} (H IX 49 : 2) 'once'.

1. The development of the second *l* from *n* is difficult. The interchange of *n* and *l* is known in this dialect; e. g., (H V 17 : 9) *il-te-en-nu-tu(m) na-aḫ-na-ap-du* but (H V 36 : 13) *iltēnātu^{nu-tu(m)}* (: 14) *na-aḫ-la-ap-tu(m)* 'one robe'. It may be that the preceding combination *i/elt* induced the second. The case is far from clear and the writer suspends final judgment until more evidence is available.

2. Perhaps by conflation with *ittu* 'property'. The opposite has apparently happened at (H V 48 : 28), where *il-ti-ia* 'my property' is conflated with *iltēn*.

3. The ordinal determinative *kam* is common only in the proper name *mār (DUMU)-ūmi (UD)-XX^{kam}* (N 215 : 24; etc.).

4. *LU.ŠAL*.

5. The entire passage is : (: 7) *il-ti-il-du dayāni (DI.TAR^{meš}) m^{aḫ}-li-ba-bu mār nu-ba-na-ni* (: 8) *a-na m^{ar}-zi-iš-za iš-ta-ap-ru-uš* (: 9) *m^a-i-it-ta mār ni-iḫ-ri-ia ša-ni-na* (: 10) *m^{te}-ḫi-ia mār ki-mi-la-ta ša-aš-ši-a-na* (: 11) *ù ra-bi-a-na m^{aḫ}-li-te-šub* (: 12) *mār te-ḫi-ip-til-la iš-ta-ap-ru-uš* (: 13) *IV awēlūti (LÚ^{meš}) an-nu-du ma-sa-du-uḫ-lu* (: 14) *dayāni^{meš} a-na m^{ar}-zi-iš-za* (: 15) *iš-ta-ap-ru-šu-nu-ti* 'as the first (constable) the judges sent Ahlipapu, the son of Nupanani, to Arzizza; Maitta, the son of Nihriya, as the second; Tehiya, the son of Kimilata, as the third; and, as the fourth, Ahliteshub, the son of Tehiptilla, they sent. The judges sent these four men as constables to Arzizza'. It is also possible to take *il-ti-il-du, ša-ni-na, ša-aš-ši-a-na* and *ra-bi-a-na* as 'at first, then, on the third occasion and on the fourth'.

iltēnūtu :

I immertu ša iltēnūtu^{nu-du} ba-aq-nu (H IX 99 : 15) 'a ewe that has been plucked once'.

iltēltu :

I immeru¹ ša il-ti-il-du pa-aq-nu (G 57 : 9, 11).

I immeru^{meš} zekru² ša il-ti-il-du pa-aq-nu (G 77 : 4).

I immeru zekru ša il-ti-il-tu(m) pa-aq-nu (N 315 : 14).

e. SUBSTANTIVAL MULTIPLICATIVE

I immeru zekru ša il-ti-il-tu(m) (N 315 : 1).

TWO

The forms and derivatives of the numeral 2 are : *šanū/i/ā(m)*, *ša-ni-na*, *ša-ni-na*, *ša-ni-ta*, *ši-ni-šu*, *terlennu* and *tertennūti* :

a. ADJECTIVAL ORDINAL

šanū/i/ā(m) :

ša-nu-ū aš-lu (N 297 : 9) 'a second stretch (of land)'.

ša-a-nu-ū aš-lu (G 59 : 8).

ša-nu tup-pu (H V 72 : 49) 'a second tablet'.

māri-ia ša-nu ia-nu-um-ma (H V 48 : 29) 'there is no other son of mine'.

ša pī³ tup-pu ša-an-ni (H V 11 : 23) 'in accordance with another tablet'.

(N 192 : 10) *ki-ma ša-ni-i* (: 11) *awēli* 'as the second man'.

(H IX 22 : 16) *māra^{1a} ša-na-a(m) i-na muḫ-ḫi-šu* (: 17) *ša mpa-i-te-šub la i-pu-uš* 'he shall adopt no other son in addition to Paiteshub'.

egla^{meš} ša-na-a (acc.) (N 259 : 15, 20) 'another field'.

(TCL 41 : 35) *a-na-k[u] tup-pa ša-na-a* (: 36) *la i-ša-aṭ-ṭar* 'I shall not write another tablet'.

ša-na [awēl]a (N 192 : 9) 'another man (he shall give)'.

(H V 60 : 14) *ma-ra na-qa-ra* (: 15) *ša-na i-na muḫ-ḫi mzi-gi la i-pu-uš* 'he shall not make another stranger his son in addition to Zigi'.

ša-ni-na (ša-ni-ta) :

aš-ša-ta ša-ni-na la i-ḫa-aš (H V 67 : 18) 'a second wife he shall not take',

as-ša-ta ša-ni-ta i-ḫa-aš (H V 67 : 41).

1. LU.

2. UŠ.

3. KAⁱ.

b. SUBSTANTIVAL ORDINAL

šanū/i(m) :

ša-nu-ū ia-nu (G 5 : 51, 52) 'there is no other'.

a-na ša-ni-im-ma (N 26 : 11) 'to another'.

ša ša-ni (N 35 : 7) 'of another'.

ša-ni-a-na :

(H V 96 : 1) *II immerāti ša il-ti-in-nu-ū* (: 2) *ba-aq-nu ū ša-ni-a-na* (: 3) *na-šu-ū* '2 ewes, of which the first has been plucked, and the second bearing (its wool)'.

ša-ni-na :

(H V 49 : 9) 'the second (constable)' (cf. p. 56, footnote 5).

tertennu :

(H V 7 : 13) *aš-ša-aš-zu ša ma-kap-se-en-ni* (: 14) *ma-ra ša ū-ul-la-tu(m) ū rabū* (: 15) *mše-el-u-ni te-ir-te-en-nu* '(if) the wife of Akapshenni bear a son, he will be the chief heir, and Shelluni, the secondary heir'.

(H V 60 : 8) *šum-ma* (: 9) [*mār-*]šū *ša me-ḫé-el-te-šub i-tab-šú* (: 10) [?] *II-ni-šu zitta i-lig-gi* (: 11) *ū mzi-gi te-ir-te-en-nu* 'if there be a son of Ehelteshub, a double portion he shall take and Zigi shall be the secondary heir (with a single portion)'.

c. MULTIPLICATIVE

ši-ni-šu :

ši-ni-šu qa-aš-zu (N 300 : 15, 16, cp. 17) '(goats) twice shorn'.

II-ni-šu pa-aq-nu (H V 18 : 14) 'twice plucked'.

II-šu (H V 99 : 7).

ša-ni-a-na :

(H V 7 : 25) 'for the second time'.

d. ADJECTIVAL MULTIPLICATIVE

tertennūti :

(H V 38 : 3) *II immerāti ša IV-šu-nu pa-aq-nu II immerāti ša III-šu-nu*

1. On *tertennu* in these texts see Koschaker, *Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Neue Folge, Band 7, 1933, p. 35 ff. Apropos of the variant *tur-ta-ni(-šū)* (H IX 145 : 10), Professor W.F. Albright calls the writer's attention to Ungnad, *Joseph der Tartan des Pharao*, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLI (1923), pp. 204-207.

2. GAL.

3. HA.LA.

pa-aq-nu (: 4) *pa-aq-nu* 'II *qa-lu-mu zekru hu-ra-pu te-ir-te-en-nu-ti*
'2 ewes, which have been plucked 4 times; 2 ewes, thrice plucked; and
2 male spring lambs, *twice (plucked)*'.

THREE

a. SUBSTANTIVAL ORDINAL

ša-aš-ši-a-na (H V 49 : 10) 'the third (constable) (acc.)' (cf. p. 56, footnote 5).

b. MULTIPLICATIVE

šaššišu šī-šu (H V 7 : 25) 'for the third time'.

c. ADJECTIVE

šullušitu :

I imēru zekru šu-lu-ši-du (G 47 : 15) '1 jackass, 3 years old'.

šullušaṭān :

šu-lu-ša-ta-an (H IX 36 : 18) 'three years old'.

FOUR

a. SUBSTANTIVAL ORDINAL

ra-bi-a-na (H V 49 : 11) 'the fourth constable' (cf. p. 56, footnote 5).

b. ADJECTIVE

ru-bu-a-ta-an (H IX 36 : 19) 'four years old'.

FIVE

ADJECTIVE

hummušu :

I imēru zekru hu-mu-šu-ú (N 311 : 1) '1 five year old jackass'.

hummušau :

hu-mu-ša-a-ú (H IX 104 : 11) (of cow) 'five years old'.

hu-mu-ša-a-ú (H IX 149 : 4) (of mare) 'five years old'.

NINE

ADJECTIVE

ti-ša-a-ú (H IX 104 : 12) '(a bull) 9 years old'.

1. Dittography.

2. Cf. Halévy. *Les désinences multiplicatives "a-an" et "ta-a-an"*, *Revue Sémitique*, I, pp. 286-287.

SIXTY

a-na šu-ši kašpi (N 195 : 9, 22) 'for 60 (shekels) of silver'.

I šu-ši i-na am-ma-ti (N 169 : 14) '60 ells'.

(N 83 : 7) *II ma-ti u šu-ši sa eqli ha-la-aḥ* (: 8) *li-mi-iš-zu* '260 (ells) is the circumference of the *ḥalaḥwa* field'.

HUNDRED

Singular :

(N 265 : 7) *bitāti*¹ *I ma-at XXXVI i-na am-ma-ti* (: 8) *li-wi-iš-zu-ma* 'houses, whose extent is 136 ells'.

I ma-at i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-ak-šu (H IX 19 : 6) '100 ells is its length'.

I ma-at L imēr šēi^{meš} (H IX 43 : 1, 11) '150 homers of barley'.

I ma-at XL immerē^{meš} (H V 5 : 3, 7, 10) '140 sheep'.

I ma-at (H IX 66 : 7, 9).

Plural :

II ma-ti immerē^{coll pl} (CS 20 : 1) '200 sheep'.

II ma-ti imēr šēi (CS 20 : 68).

VII ma-ti (H IX 66 : 1).

II ma-at (G 65 : 1) (singular for plural).

Sometimes (e. g., G. 60) *māt(u)* has the value 80, in these tablets; cf. G., p. 132; Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, London, 1928, p. 326; Sec. Trans., II, 25.

THOUSAND

*I li-im lebnāti*³ (H V 98 : 6, 7) '1000 bricks'.

II li-im lebnāti^{meš} (H V 97 : 6, 11) '2000 bricks'.

1. *KUBABBAR*^{meš}.

2. *Éḥá* ^{meš}.

3. *SIG*₄ ^{meš}.



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THE PRONOUN IN THE NUZI TABLETS

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1. The cuneiform tablets found at Nuzi, near the modern Kirkuk, date from about the fifteenth century B.C., and are of interest for the Akkadian dialect, in which they are couched, as well as for their contents. While Gadd, Chiera, Speiser, Koschaker, Landsberger, and others have made observations on the language of these texts, the only systematic linguistic study hitherto published is that of Kramer on "The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets" (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XI [1931], 62-119).

2. The present writer is preparing a series of studies on the Nuzi dialect. This article is a detailed study of the pronouns, embracing all forms and their orthographic variants in the texts published to date.

3. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor E. A. Speiser, who initiated me into the Nuzian mysteries, and whose cordial guidance is ever mine for the asking. I also wish to thank Dr. Arthur Piepkorn, who was good enough to read the first draft of this article and to make several valuable suggestions. My special gratitude is due to the American Council of Learned Societies, from which I received a fellowship, for the academic year 1932-33, enabling me to undertake these studies.

4. The abbreviations CS, G, JAOS, NKRA, OLZ, RA, and TCL follow the method of quotation used by Kramer (*op. cit.*, p. 62). H V and H IX refer respectively to the fifth (Chiera, 1929) and ninth

volumes (Pfeiffer, 1932) of the "Harvard Semitic Series." N refers to the Nuzi texts published by Chiera in Volumes I (texts Nos. 1-100), II (Nos. 101-221) and III (No. 222-320) of the "Publications of the Baghdad School" (American Schools of Oriental Research, Paris, 1927, 1930, 1931). Note also: EL-Eisser und Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden von Kültepe* (Leipzig, 1930); Satk-Lewy: *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* (Berlin, 1922); RA XXVIII: Contenau, "Textes et monuments, Part I," *Revue d'assyriologie*, XXVIII (1931), 27-39. Other titles are cited in full.

5. Each cuneiform sign is transliterated just as it is found in the original. The Nuzians did not distinguish surds, sonants, and emphatics from each other, nor š from s. The reader, therefore, will see, on every page, examples of outlandish orthography, like (H V 53:28) *a-ḥa-at-qa* for *aḥātka*, (H IX 17:13) *it-ti-nu* for *iddinu*, and (H V 99:17) *i-sa-az-zi* for *išassī*. However, for present purposes, the disadvantages of this system are preferable to another that would hide the peculiarities of the dialect in forcing it into the matrix of classical Akkadian. The few diacritical marks required are according to Thureau-Dangin, *Le syllabaire accadien* (Paris, 1926).

6. Determinatives and phonetic complements are placed in the upper register. The male determinative is represented by *m*, the female determinative by *f*. Number of lines, words added in translating, and other reader's aids are in parentheses. Reconstructions are bracketed. No attempt has been made to make transliterations taken from CS and H IX 121-58 conform to the system here adopted.

7. When syllabic values ending in *m* (such as *lim*, *lum*, *tam*, *tum*, and *rum*) are intended to be read without the final consonant,¹ the *m* will be parenthesized.

I. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN

FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

8. Nom.: (N 59:10, N 101:13, etc.) *a-na-ku*; when enclitic *-ma* is added: (N 126:19, N 172:10) *a-na-ku-ma*, or less commonly (N

¹ That this is the case is proved by variant writings of proper names, such as (H IX 110:2) *du-ul-du-uq-qa* and (H IX 109:2, 9) *tu(m)-ul-tu(m)-uq-qa*; (N 313:3) *it-ḥi-iš-ta* and (N 313:6) *it-ḥi-is-ta(m)*, etc. Note also the verbal forms: (N 253:3) *uš-te-bi-i-lu(m)* and (N 253:8) *iš-te-bi-i-lu(m)* "they exchanged" (Ylvisaker, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik* [Leipzig, 109], p. 25, is troubled by an occurrence of this value of *LUM*: "Ganz abnorm is *be-lum-ni*"), and (N 310:27) *u-ta-ar-ru(m)* "will give back."

159:10) *a-na-ku-ú-ma* (with the length of the *u*, to which the accent has been shifted, indicated). (Acc.: *iāti* "me" does not occur in the texts so far published.)²

9. Dat.: (N 114:12 *et passim*) *a-na ia-ši*. Sometimes, as at N 59:9, *ia-ši* "to me" is not accompanied by a preposition. In H V 30, note (:3) *a-ni-a-ši* and (:8) *a-ni-ia-ši* (showing that final *a* of *ana* was not always pronounced).

FIRST PLURAL

10. Nom.: (TCL 46:9) *ni-nu*, (TCL 12:18, N 115:7) *ni-i-nu*, (N 130:7) *ni-nu-ú*, and with *-ma*: (N 149:14, N 169:17) *ni-nu-ma*.

11. Classical forms of the acc. *niāti* "nos" and dat. *niāši(m)* "nobis" have not appeared so far.³

SECOND SINGULAR

12. No certain example occurs in the published texts. Koschaker's reading (OLZ, XXV, 401) of *at(!)-ta* at H V 48:15 is questionable.

THIRD SINGULAR⁴

13. Nom.: (N 317:13) *šu-ú* or (N 295:6) *šu*; with *-ma*: (N 4:11, N 41:13) *šu-ú-ma* or (G 28:7, N 30:13) *šu-ma*. Cf. § 16.

14. The masc. *šu* regularly serves for the fem.: (N 57:12) [*ša*] *egli i-lik-šu šu-ú-ma na-a-ši* "the feudal service of the field, *she* shall bear."

THIRD PLURAL

15. (N 9:33) *šu-nu* "they"; with *-ma*: (N 3:11, N 15:13, N 17:31, N 25:16, N 48:29) *šu-nu-ma* or (N 68:32) *šu-nu-ú-ma*; with *-mi*: (TCL 41:33) *šu-nu-mi*.

² To emphasize the acc. pro. 1 sg., the corresponding nom., as a *casus pendens*, is resumed by the acc. pronominal suffix; e.g., (H V 4:4) *ú a-na-ku* (:5) *m̃hu-bi-ta a-na mi-la-nu* (:6) *mār ta-a-a-ú-ki iš-tap-ra-an-ni* "and, as for me, Hubita unto Ilanu sent me."

³ Taya, the scribe, in two passages writes what may be the Nuzian dat. pro. 1 pl.: (N 171:12) *a-na na-aš-ni* (:13) *ki-ma qišti-ni it-ta-ad-na* "(barley) to us (?) as our gift he has given" and (N 156:15) *a-na na-aš-ni* (:16) *it-ta-ad-na* "(a field) to us (?) he has given." Cf. (N 159:7) *i-na lib-bi VII imēr egli* (:8) *IV imēr egli^{meš} mar-ša-ši a-na na-aš-wi* (:9) *il-gi ú ri-hu-tu(m) eglu* (:10) *a-na-ku-ú-ma ú-qa-al* "of the 7 homers of field, 4 homers of field, Arshashi for him(self) (?) has received and the rest of the field I have retained." (While the context allows the possibility that *na-aš-wi* is the dialectal dat. pro. 3 sg., it must be remembered that *na-aš-wi* cannot have this meaning at RA XXVIII 4:3, 6, where it refers to a kind of official. In G 51 etc., it is a masc. proper name.)

⁴ At G 5:52 (*ú šup-pu an-nu-um-ma šu-u-ud ú ša-nu-ú ia-nu* "and this tablet is it (the valid one) and there is none other"), *šu-ú-ud* is difficult. If the pro. is intended, the writing (*šu-ú-u*) is unusual. However, it would be still less likely that *šūt*, which occurs instead of Babylonian *šū* in the Cappadocian tablets (Satk, p. 22) and Assyrian laws (Satk, p. 20), is intended here, because Nuzi usage agrees with the Babylonian in regard to this pronoun.

16. The sg. *šu(-ma)* is used, though seldom, for the pl. *šu-nu(-ma)*: (N 74:35) XIV *awēlūti*^{meš} *ši-bu-ti šu-ma ha-wa-al-ḥu* (:36) *ú-še-el-mu-ú* "as for the 14 witnesses, they surveyed the *ḥawalḥu* (field)."

RÉSUMÉ

17. An examination of the independent pro. shows (1) the lack of distinct fem. forms (masc. also serving as fem.), (2) the absence of acc. and of (3) dat. forms with the exception of *iāši*, and (4) the agreement of the Nuzi 3 masc. sg. with the Babylonian *šū* against *šūt* of the Assyrian dialect.

II. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES WITH NOUNS

FIRST SINGULAR

18. (N 23:16) *ki-ma qīšti-ia*⁵ "as my gift," (N 155:14) *qa-an-ni am-ta-šar* "my girdle I impressed" and (H V 49:4) *aššati*^{ti} "my wife." However, note (G 9:7) *mi-nu-um-me-e* (:8) *qa-lu-um-ma-ni-e-a* "all my servants."

FIRST PLURAL

19. (N 115:5, 8) *warad-ni* "our slave," (N 134:5) *a-bu-ni* "our father."

SECOND SINGULAR

20. (G 28:9) *ši-bu-du-ka bi-lam-mi*, (H V 44:14) *a-na qāti*^{ti}-*ka* "into thy hand" and (H V 53:28) *a-ha-at-qa* "thy sister."

SECOND PLURAL

21. (H V 104:20) *ar-nu ina muḥ-ḥi-ku-nu*, "the guilt is upon you."

THIRD MASCULINE SINGULAR

22. (N 62:10) *ù eglu*^{meš}-*šu il-qa-šu* (:11) *a-pu-ut-te-ia na-šu-ú* "and as for his field, the feudal service thereof, Aputteya shall bear," (G 53:1, 2, 3, 4, etc.) *mār-šu* "his son," (N 50:17) *mārti-šu*, and (N 50:2) *māra(t)-zu* "his daughter." Cf. §§ 26 and 27.

THIRD FEMININE SINGULAR

23. The masc. *-šu* serves also for the fem.: (N 57:7) *ki-ma qīšti-šu* "as her gift," (H IX 24:10) *šum-ma* ^f*šu-wa-ar-ḥé-pa* (:11) *mārē*^{meš}

⁵ *NĪG.BA-ia*. In the few instances where this word is written syllabically in the published texts, *š* has changed to *l*: (N 86:9, G 20+23:2) *ki-il-ti-šu*.

ú-ul-la-ad ù mār-šu rabū ša (:12) ^fšu-wa-ar-ḥé-pa ki-me-e mārī-ia rabū
 “if Shuwarḥepa bear sons, her first born, of Shuwarḥepa, as my heir
 (will be),” (H IX 145:9) a-na mārī-šu “to her son,” and (N 78:20)
 lišān-šu ša ^fhi-in-zu-ri (lit.) “her declaration (viz.) of Ḥinzuri.”

24. Now and then, meticulous scribes revert to classical usage, writing -ša. Ṭāb-milki-abi is noteworthy for distinguishing fem. from masc. forms: (H V 71:15) *I amtu a-wa-šu-ḥu-ur šu-um-ša* (:16) *a-na ^fki-ra-še na-ad-na-at* “1 handmaid, Awashuhur is her name, to Kirashe has been given” and (H V 71:18) *zi-ki-il-ta-ša* (nom.) “her possessions.” Šamaš-damiq is likewise classicizing in writing (N 113:3) *a-na a-bi-ša ù* (:4) *a-na ummi-ša* “to her father and to her mother.” In H IX 145, where, as noted above (§ 23), -šū “her” appears twice, the scribe also writes (:12) *kasap^{meš}-ša* “her money,” (:16) *kasap^{meš} te-ir-ḥa-ti-ša* “the money of her bridal price” and (:14) *e-nu-ma ^fḥa-ši-ip-ki-a-še* (:15) *it-ti^{amēl} mu-ti-ša it-ti-il-lu* “when Hashipkiashe lies with her husband.”

THIRD PLURAL

25. Again, genders are not differentiated: (H V 55:15) *qīšti-šu-nu ga-ab-ba-šu-nu-ma* “all their (masc.) gifts” but also (H IX 145:6) *ma-an-nu ša* (:7) *i-na be-ri-šu-nu ibbalkatu^{tu(m)}* “whoever among them (fem.!) that breaks the contract.”

26. Sg. -šū is not infrequently used for -šunū: (N 3:10, N 37:13) *qīšti-šu* “their gifts,” (N 3:16) *lišān-šu* “their declaration,” (H IX 126:29) *ma-an-nu-um-me-e ina III šanāti^{meš}* (:30) *ina bēri-šu ibbalkatu^{du}* “whoever between them that breaks the contract during (these) 3 years,” and (N 262:18) *ma-an-nu-um-mi-e* (:19) *ina bēri-šu ibbalkatu*.

27. Conversely, -šunū sometimes occurs for -šū: (H V 68:5) *ki-ma zitti-šu-nu* “as his inheritance share” and (N 81:10) *ki-ma qīšti-šu-nu* “as his gift.”

RÉSUMÉ

28. In the possessive pronominal suffixes, third person, the masc. (-šū, -šunū) have generally displaced the fem. forms (-šā, -šinā). However, the classical fem. sg. -šā sometimes appears. In the third person there is also occasional confusion of number, -šū being used for -šunū and vice versa.

III. VERBAL SUFFIXES

ACCUSATIVE, FIRST SINGULAR

29. (H V 59:7) *i-te-ip-ša-an-ni* "he made me," (H IX 12:4) *iš-tap-ra-an-ni* "he sent me," (H IX 10:5) *ir-tap-za-an-ni-mi* "he beat me," and (H V 25:17) *iddin^{din}-an-ni-mi* "he gave"; with verbs terminating in *u*: (G 29:10) *uz-zi-im-mi-ḥu-un-ni-ma* ($\sqrt{\text{smḥ}}$) "they made me joint heir" or (N 177:1) *it-ta-du-ni* "they sentenced me."

DATIVE, FIRST SINGULAR

30. (N 104:12) *a-na ia-ši it-ta-ad-na*⁶ "to me he has given." Less often the resumptive suffix *-a* is omitted after *a-na ia-ši*, as at N 107:6: *a-na ia-ši ittadin^{din}*.

ACCUSATIVE, FIRST PLURAL

31. This suffix is not usually distinguished from the corresponding sg. *-(a)nni*: (H V 5:5) *it-ta-du-ni-in-ni-mi*⁷ "they sentenced us." However, note (N 261:34) *iš-pu-ra-na*⁸ "as his proxies he has sent us." (The latter ending is unique in the texts published so far.)

DATIVE, FIRST PLURAL

32. The corresponding sg. suffix *-a* may be used: (N 153:11) *qīšti-ni id-di-na* "our gift he has given to us."

DATIVE, SECOND SINGULAR

33. (G 28:9) *ši-bu-du-ka bi-^{la}lam-mi* (:10) *ki-me-e ma³ak-ku-li-en-ni a-na ib-qa* (:11) *ma-lu-ti iq-ta-ba-ak-ku* "bring thy witnesses (to testify) that Akkulienni said to thee that thou art full of pus (?)."

DATIVE, SECOND PLURAL

34. This suffix appears only once in the texts so far published (H IX 5:11) *i-na-an-din-na-ku-nu-ši*⁹ "he hath given unto you."

⁶ At N 197:10, *id-di-na-na* "he gave to me" is dittographic for *id-di-na*; cf. N 106:11 etc.

⁷ The energetic *ni* of *ittadūni* is rare in the Nuzi texts. The form is Assyrian, regularly occurring in dependent clauses throughout the Assyrian laws (cf. Kramer, p. 84, n. 131).

⁸ Cf. the Arabic acc. suffix 1 pl., لَ —(Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* [3 ed.], I, 101).

⁹ By analogy with the acc. 3 pl. *-šunūti* (§ 43) and the corresponding dative, *-aššunūti* (§ 47), one would expect *inandinakkunūti* instead of *inandinak(k)unūši*. However, cf. *-šunūši* (acc.!), § 45.

ACCUSATIVE, THIRD MASCULINE SINGULAR

35. (N 57:7, N 59:13) *i-pal-la-aḫ-šu* "he shall serve him," (N 65:23) *i-na-an-din-šu* "he shall give him"; after sibilants: (N 2:6, N 4:3) *i-pu-uz-zu* "he made him," (N 8:4) *i-pu-ú-zu(!)-ma* but (H V 60:18) *i-la-ba-aš-šu* (cf. § 5); after vowels: (N 3:4) *i-pu-šu-uš*¹⁰ "they made him," (N 8:11) *i-ba-ak-ki-iš* "he shall mourn (for) him," (N 8:12) *ú-ba-a-aš*, "he shall seek him," and (H V 80:4) *ri-ik-za ir-ta-ak-zu-uš* "they made a contract" (*lit.*: "a contract they contracted it," with resumptive pro.)

36. The dative *-aššu* (§ 37) sometimes occurs for the acc.: (N 195:19) *il-te-ka-aš-šu* "he took him," which differs from *il-te-gi-šu* (*-ma*), in line 17 of the same tablet, only in being a bit more emphatic.

DATIVE, THIRD SINGULAR

37. This suffix, *-aššu* (**am-šum*), may (e.g., N 1:9, N 16:10) or may not (N 2:8) be resumptive: (N 1:9) *it-ti-na-aš-šu* "he shall give to him" or (N 5:10) *it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu*. With pl. verbs, terminating in *u*, energetic *-ni* (n. 7) appears: (N 19:9) *i-it-ti-nu-ni-iš-šu* and (N 66:7) *id-di-nu-ni-iš-šu* (*-ni* + (*-a*)*ššu* > *-niššu*) "they have given to him."

38. The dat. 3 masc. sg. serves also as the corresponding fem.: (H IX 116:10) *it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu* "he has given to *her*."

39. The dat. properly 1 sg., but also noted as 1 pl. (§ 32), is used, at times, resumptively for 3 sg.: (N 101:20) *a-na mšarra-šadū-ni ittadna^{na}* "to Sharrashaduni he has given" and (H IX 16:7) *a-na (:8) mši-il-wi-te-šub inaddina^{na}*.

THIRD FEMININE SINGULAR

40. This suffix is not ordinarily distinguished from the corresponding masc.: (H V 59:21) *i-pal-la-aḫ-šu* "he shall serve *her*."¹¹ However, scribes now and then write *-ši* classically: (H V 101:11) *i-na-an-din-ši* "he shall give her (acc.)"; with assimilation of *n* to following *š*: (G 35:17) *it-ta-ti-iš-ši* "he gave her (acc.)"; after sibilant: (N 82:2) *i-pu-zi-ma* "he made her."

41. As noted for 3 masc. (§ 36), so too the dat. 3 fem. sg. is oc-

¹⁰ At H V 65:4, *ú-zi-mi-ḫu-eš* "he made him joint heir" is to be normalized *úsimiḫuš* (II, with overhanging vowel; cf. Kramer, p. 93).

¹¹ Similarly, *-šu* for *-ši* in the Amarna letters; e.g., *ištemišu*, Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 28.

asionally used for acc.: (H IX 145:8) *i-na-an-di-na-aš-ši* "he shall give her."

42. Conversely, at N 18:10, acc. *-iš*¹² instead of dat.: (N 18:10) *id-di-ni-iš* "he has given to her."

ACCUSATIVE, THIRD PLURAL

43. This suffix is commonly the classical *-šunūti*: (G 28:30, G 35:27) *iš-ta-ap-ru-šu-nu-ti* "they sent them," etc.; after sibilant: (N 78:15) *ir-ta-ak-zu-nu-ti*¹³ "I tied them."

44. With *-šunū* for *-šunūti*:¹⁴ (H V 62:5) *a-na ma-ru-ti i-te-ip-šu-šu-nu* "they adopted them" (*lit.*: "for sonship they made them").

45. The classical dat. suffix *-šunūši* is used accusatively at G 12:31: *la ú-qa-aš-ša-az-zu-nu-ši* "he shall not take possession of them."¹⁵

46. *-šunūti* and *-šunū* also serve as fem.: (H IX 17:3) *il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti* "he received them (fem.)," (H IX 17:13) *šum-ma sinnišāti*^{meš} . . . (:14) *ba-ki-ra-na irtašu*^{šu} (:15) *mu-a-ma ú-za-aq-qa-šu-nu-ma* "if the women have a claimant, Uama shall clear them."

DATIVE, THIRD PLURAL

47. This suffix is *-aššunūti*: (N 67:14) *i-ti-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, (N 38:14) *i-din-aš-šu-nu-ti*, (N 31:12) *it-ta-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, (N 51:16) *id-di-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, (N 234:17, N 264:26) *it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, etc., "he has given to them."

48. *-aššunū* sometimes appears instead of *-aššunūti* (cf. *-šunū* for *-šunūti*, § 44): (N 83:23) *i-din-na-aš-šu-nu*, (N 215:11) *i-it-ti-na-aš-šu-nu* "he has given to them" and (H V 62) *i-ti-na-aš-šu-nu* (meaning "he has given to them," in l. 11; but, "they have given to them," in l. 8).

49. Occasionally the acc., *-šunūti* and *-šunū*, are used for the dat.: (N 164:3) *iq-ta-bi-šu-nu-ti* "spoke to them," (N 46:15) *it-ta-din-šu-*

¹² With *-iš* for *-ši*, cf. Hebrew שִׁי and modern Arabic *-ik* (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, 309) with classical Arabic *-ki*, the pronominal suffix 2 fem. sg. The *i*, characteristic of the fem., is retained before the consonant, when final vowels are dropped.

¹³ For *artakas+šunuti*. 3 for 1 sg. is common in the Nuzi tablets.

¹⁴ Also in the Cappadocian tablets: (EL 7:13, p. 8) *ú-še-šu-bu-šu-nu* "they shall make them dwell." In Capp. *-kunū*, *-kinā*, *-šunū*, *-šinā* are acc., the corresponding dat. being *-kunūti*, *-kināti*, *šunūti*, *šināti*. Cf. Lewy, p. 11.

¹⁵ So Gadd. Cf. Kramer, p. 91, n. 176.

nu-ti "he gave to them," and (H V 104:19) *iq-bi-šú-nu* "he said to them."

MIXED ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE SUFFIXES

50. In several instances, the dative element (*-*am*) of *-aššū* (*<-*am+šū*), or *-aššunūtī* (*<-*am+šunūtī*), refers to a previously given object of the preposition *ana*, while the *-šū*, or *-šunūtī*, is acc.: (H IX 109:9) (*^ma-ta-a-a a-na ^mtu(m)-ul-tu(m)-uq-qa (:10) à a-na ^mi-la-a-nu i-na-ti-na-aš-šu* "he (Ataya) has given it to them (to Tultukka and Ilanu)"; (N 272:11) (*a-na ^men-na-ma-ti id-di-na-aš-šu-nu-ti* "he gave them to him (to Ennamati);" (N 307:6, 11) *it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, (N 307:20) *i-na-an-ti-na-aš-šu-nu-ti* "he gave them to him."

CONFUSION OF NUMBER

51. (N 197:10) *šum-ma eqlu (:11) pa-ki-ra-na i-ra-aš-ši (:12) a-na-ku-ma ú-za-aq-qa-šu-nu* "if the field have a claimant, I shall clear it."

52. A strange phenomenon in these texts is the occasional interchange of subject and object: (H V 73:13) *i-pal-la-aḥ-šu-nu-ti* "they shall serve *her*" (N 226:13) *i-din-na-aš-šu-nu-ti* "they gave to *him*"; cf. Kramer, page 109.

MISCELLANEOUS

53. The following is an example of redundant and incorrect use of the acc. suffix, resuming an indirect object governed by a preposition: (N 164:6) *ina arki mārē^{meš} te-ḫi-ip-til-la (:7) à ina arki mārē^{meš} ḫa-i-iš-te-šub (:8) [la] a-sa-zi-šu-nu-ti-mi* (lit.) "after the sons of Tehiptilla and after the sons of Haishteshub, we¹⁶ shall not call them"; i.e., "we shall raise no claims against them."

54. (H IX 97:35) *II awēlūtu^{meš} an-nu-tu(m) ša eqla/i (:36) mu-šal-wu-šu-nu-ti* "these two men are the surveyors of the field." Although the meaning is certain, the grammar is enigmatic. An acc. suffix should not be attached to a participle. Then again, *eqla/i* is sg. and, as such, is an improper antecedent for *-šunūtī*. If, on the other hand, *šunūtī* is an independent nom. pro., used predicatively, resuming the subject, *II awēlūtu*, it is absolutely un-Akkadian. Analogy with a Hurrian construction may have occasioned *mu-šal-wu-šu-nu-ti*.

¹⁶ Cf. § 55 (3).

RÉSUMÉ

55. a) In Table I, showing verbal suffixes, rare forms are adduced only when needed to fill lacunae and are marked with an asterisk.

TABLE I

	Accusative	Dative
Sg. 1	-(a)n ⁿ i	-a
2 m		-*akku
2 f		
3 m	-š(ū), -š(i)	-aššū
3 f	-š(ū), -š(i)	-aššū
Pl. 1	-(a)n ⁿ i, -(a)na	-*a
2 m		-*akkunūši
2 f		
3 m	-šunūti, -šunū	-aššunūti, -aššunū
3 f	-šunūti, -šunū	

b) It will be noted that the masc. forms have, in large measure, displaced the corresponding feminines.

c) Occasionally number is confused (§§ 51, 52). As may be seen from Table I, both acc. and dative 1 sg. may serve as 1 pl. Although there are but few instances of 1 pl. suffixes, the use of 1 sg. forms as 1 pl. is otherwise attested, in the verb: [la] ašassīšunūti "we shall raise no claims against them" (§ 53).

d) Subject and object are sometimes interchanged (§ 52).

e) Rarely are acc. suffixes used as datives and vice versa.

f) Sometimes the element -*am refers to an indirect object, while the immediately following pronominal element (e.g., -šū or -šunūti) is acc. (§ 50).

IV. rāmānu¹⁷

WITH SUFFIXES AS EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUN

56. As an emphatic substitute for *anāku*: (H V 40:6) *ra-ma-ni-ia* (:7) *i-na bīt^{meš} it* (:8) *ša ma-qa-wa-til* (:10) *uš-te-ri-iḅ* "I into the house of Aqawatil caused myself to enter"; so too H V 40:13; and as a *casus pendens* resumed by -(a)nⁿi (cf. n. 2) (H V 25:14) *ra-ma-ni-ia ū a-ḥu-ia* (:15) *mak-ku-li-en-ni a-na aš-šu-ti* (:16) *a-na mḥu-ra-az-zi iddin^{din}-an-ni-mi* "as for me, my brother, Akkulienni, gave me as a wife to Hurazzi."

¹⁷ Although *rāmānu* is generally termed a "reflexive pronoun," its uses rarely justify the name. Thus, under *Reflexivpronomen*, Ungnad (*Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik* [2 ed.], p. 19) cites: "*ana rāmānija* für meine Person = für mich selbst," which is an emphatic or identifying pro. rather than a reflexive. *Mich*, here is not to be confused with reflexive *mich* as in *ich wasche mich*.

57. With suffixes 3 sg. and pl., the *n* of *rāmānu* may or may not be assimilated to the *š* of the suffix. Without assimilation: (N 304:16) *ra-ma-an-šu ú-uz-zi* "he shall go out"; cf. N 295:9 and N 304:6; (N 312:14) *ù ra-ma-an-šu-nu-ú ú-uz-zu-ú* "and they themselves shall go out." With assimilation: (N 301:6) *ṁti-wi-ir-ra ki-mu erī (:7) mārē¹⁸ -šú ṁḥa-na-a-a ù ilu-a-bi (:8) ù ra-ma-aš-šu i-na bīt ṁmu-še-e-a (:9) [i]t-ti mārē^{meš} a-ši-ib¹⁹* "As for Tiwirra, in consideration of bronze (received), and as for his sons Hanaya and Iluabi, in the house of Musheya, he with (his) sons shall dwell (as servants)."

GENITIVE USES

58. (a) (N 64:8) *ša ra-ma-ni-šu* "of himself," "his." (b) Compounded with the preposition *in(a)*: (N 78:23) *ir-ra-ma-ni-ia²⁰ a-[n]a a-ḥa-du-ti (:24) a-na ṁḥu-tar-ra-ap-ḥi it-ta-din* "with my consent he has given me as a sister to Ḫutarrappi.²¹"

QUASI-REFLEXIVE

59. In CS 8, *rāmānu*+possessive suffix in conjunction with the corresponding acc. suffix: (:1) *^dsin-pa-al-ti ḥa-bi-ru-ú (:2) ù i-na bīt ṁte-ḥi-ip-til-la (:3) ra-ma-aš-šu-ma a-na amtu-ti (:4) ú-še-ri-ib-šú* "Sin-palti, a Habiru²² woman, caused herself to enter (i.e., of her own will) the house of Teḫiptilla, as a slave."

RÉSUMÉ

60. *rāmānu*, in the nom., is a substitute for any independent personal pro., whose corresponding possessive suffix is appended. In the gen., it appears as *ša rāmāni*+possessive suffix "of one's self"; and, *in(a)*, as *irrāmāni*+possessive suffix "with one's consent." To be reflexive, *rāmānu* would have to be acc., the subject being the same person. In the passage cited in § 59, the pronominal suffix affixed to

¹⁸ *meš* omitted.

¹⁹ *a-na* (erased) *-ši-ib* is written.

²⁰ For *in(a)-rāmāniya*. There is a parallel in the Cappadocian tablets: (EL, 135:9, p. 117) *15 manē annak qā-tim (:10) tamkārum i ra-mi-ni-šu (:11) i-dt-in*.

²¹ Said by Hinzuri, whose brother, Sikipa, according to the opening lines of the tablet, gave her to Ḫutarrappi. Koschaker (NKRA, p. 174) translates "ich selbst zur Schwwesterschaft dem Ḫutarrappi gebe (mich)." This translation is inexact not because *ittadin* is third and not first person (cf. n. 13), but because it has already been clearly stated that Sikipa gave his sister away and not she herself. From other passages, e.g., H V 25:14 ff. (§ 56), it is known that brothers often disposed of their sisters in Nuzi.

²² On the Habiru in these texts, cf. Chiera, "Habiru and Hebrews," *AJSL*, XLIX (1933), 115-24.

the verb is the actual reflexive. However, *rāmāššu* is accessory to the reflexive construction.

V. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

annū "THIS"

The forms of *annū*, which are badly confused as regards case, number, and gender, are listed below according to form rather than function:

61. *annūm*.—This classical mimated form of the nom. masc. sg. is found particularly in documents written by the scribe Taya: (N 104:16, N 185:18) *an-nu-um ina an-ni-im (lā išassī)* "the one against the other (shall not lay claims)," and (N 35:10) *eqlum an-nu-um*.

62. *annū*.—As sg.: (N 212:25) *ṭup-pu an-nu-ú* (nom.), (N 15:28) *maḥar it-ḥa-bi-ḥi ṭupšarru an-nu-ú* (:29) *mu-še-el-wu ša eqli* "in the presence of Iṭḥabiḥi, the scribe, who surveyed the field" (*lit.*: "this a surveyor of the field"), (H IX 18:12) *an-nu-ú eqlu* . . . "this is the field (that A and B gave to C), (N 98:12) *eqlu^{meš} an-nu-ú* "this field," and (N 46:24) *qa-aq-qa-ru an-nu-ú* (acc.) "this land." As pl.: (G 17:12, H IX 12:24, H IX 53:6) *awēlūti^{meš} an-nu-ú* "these men" and (H V 48:31) *ki-i bi-i-šu-nu* (:32) *V awēlūti^{meš} an-nu-ú* "according to the declaration (of) these five men." Note the variant writings: (N 135:12) *VII alāni^{meš} ni an-nu-ú* "these seven cities" and (N 186:5) *napharu XXX SU²³ kaspu^{meš} an-nu* "a total of thirty shekels of silver (acc)."

63. *annīm*.—This classical mimated gen. is used particularly by Taya (§ 61): (N 23:23) *il-qa ša eqlim an-ni-im* . . . "the feudal service (acc.) of this field. . . ."

64. *annī* is, as a rule, correctly used as a gen. sg., but it may serve as fem. as well as masc.: (N 8:7) *aš-šum eqlī^{meš} an-ni-i*, (N 212:16) *il-ka ša eqlī^{meš} an-ni* . . . (:17) *na-ši* "the feudal service of this field he shall bear," (H V 72:46) *i-na ūmi^{mi} an-ni*, (N 138:11) *a-na pa-ni ūmi^{meš}* (:12) *a-ni-mi* "before this day," "formerly," and the discordant (G 30:4) *a-šar a-ma-ti a-an-ni* "(land) situated (according to) this declaration" (so Gadd, p. 109).

²³ On whether *su* is "shekel" or a part thereof, cf. Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Security Transactions," *JAOs*, LIII (1933), 33.

65. *annām*.—(G 75:10) *ṭup-pa an-na-am* (:11) *i-ḫi-ip-pu-ú* “this tablet they shall break.”

66. *annā*.—As acc.: (N 221:13) *šēa an-na-a*, (N 216:23) *eqla an-na-a*, and (N 23:13) *II imēr eqla an-na-a* “these two homers of field.” The following is a *casus pendens*, logically the object of a verb: (N 65:11) *naphara XVI imēr eqla^{mes} an-na ša pī ṭup-pi* (:12) *an-ni-ti* “this total of 16 homers of land as defined in this tablet.” As nom.: (N 176:14) *šum-ma eqla an-na-a ša a-bu-ia i-di-nu* (:15) *pa-ki-ra-na i-ra-aš-ši* “if this field, which my father gave, have a claimant” and (N 63:14) *šum-ma eqla an-na pa-ki-ra-na* (:15) *i-ra-aš-ši*.

67. *annūtu(m)*.—As nom.: (N 308:29, H IX 96:20) *ṭup-pu an-ni-tu(m)*; as acc.: (TCL 24:4) *šēa^{mes} an-ni-tu(m)*.

68. *annūti/e*.—(N 148:15) *aš-šum eqli an-ni-ti*, (N 98:15) *ša eqli an-ni-ti*, (N 148:12) *iš-tu ūmi^{mi} an-ni-ti* “from now on,” (G 26:19) *ša bi dub-bi an-ni-ti*, (G 48:18) *alpu ù immertu ša bi-i ṭup-pu an-ni-ti* “the ox and the ewe stipulated in this tablet,” (N 33:19) *ir-wi-i[š]*²⁴ *ša eqli ša pī dub-bi an-ni-te* (:20) *na-ši* “he shall bear the feudal service of field mentioned in this tablet,” and (as nom.): (TCL 44:9) *eqlu an-ni-ti*.

69. *annūtu*.—As pl.: (N 16:27) *VII [+I?] awēlūtu^{mes} šībūtu^{mes} an-nu-du* “these 8 (?) witnesses,” (N 13:40) *an-nu-tu(m) ši-bu-tu(m)* “these are witnesses,” (N 9:33) *an-nu-tu(m) šu-nu . . .*, “these are . . .,” (N 38:16, 19) *II awēlūtu^{mes} an-nu-tu(m)*, (G 52:11) *V awēlūtu^{bá mes} an-nu-ú-du*, (N 29:17) *kirā ša-a-šu II aḫē an-nu-ú-tu(m)* (:18) *ú-za-ak-ku-ma* “that garden, these two brothers shall clear,” and (N 265:48) *an-nu-ú-tu(m) awēlūtu^{mes}* (:49) *mu-še-el-[wu]-ú ša bītāti^{bá mes}* “these men are the surveyors of the houses.” As sg.: (G 52:23) *ṭup-pu an-nu-du*, (N 300:32) *ṭup-pu an-nu-tu(m)*, (N 216:21) *eqlu a-nu-tu(m) ti-ḫi eqli* (:22) *ša mše-ru-ba-ni* “this field is near the field of Sherubani” and (N 300:31, :42–43) *kaspa an-nu-tu(m)* (acc.).

70. *annūti*.—As pl.: (N 38:4, 9, 12) *IV awēlūti an-nu-ti*, (N 5:25) *an-nu-ti ši-bu-ti*, (N 5:35) *an-nu-ti ši-bu-du* (note discordant terminations!), etc. As sg.: *ṭup-pu an-nu-ti* occurs in the nom. at N 300:32, gen. at N 300:22, and acc. at G 46:12.

71. *annāti*.—As pl.: (N 20:14) *bītāti^{bá} an-na-ti*, (N 69:8) *eqlāti an-na-ti*, and (N 221:7) *eqlāti^{mes ti} an-na-a-ti*. With a masc. noun termi-

²⁴ *irwiš* is the Hurrian equivalent of *ilku* “feudal service.”

nating in a masc. pl. suffix: (G 21:11) *ša II awēlūti^{meš} an-na-ti* “(the field) of these two men.” With pl. noun consisting of individuals of both genders (cf. H IX 36:15 ff.): (H IX 36:14) *III sīsē^{meš} an-na-ti* “these three horses.” As sg.: (N 176:18) *aš-šum eqli an-na-ti*.

šāšu (šū) “THAT”

72. The ordinary demonstrative pro. sg. is *šāšu*, in all cases and either gender: (G 13:18) *šum-ma qa-aq-qa-ru ša-a-šu* (:19) *up-ta-qar* “if that land be claimed” (cf. N 46:17), and (H IX 18:14) *eqlu ša-a-šu* “that field”; (N 109:10) *aš-šum eqli ša-šu* “on account of that field,” (N 9:19) *ša eqli ša-a-šu* “of that field”; (N 122:8) *eqla ša-a-šu at-ta-din*, (N 61:14, N 105:17, H IX 18:16) *eqla ša-a-šu*, (N 29:17) *kirā ša-a-šu* “that garden”; (N 9:13, N 102:34) *eqla ša-a-šu-ma*, (N 98:13) *mpal-te-ia eqla ša-šu-ma* (:14) *ú-za-aq-qa-ma* “Palteya shall clear that field” (cf. N 105:10).

73. The pl. is *šāšunū*: (N 126:18) *eqlāti^{meš} ša-šu-nu*, (N 126:24) *aš-šum eqlāti^{meš} ša-šu-nu* “on account of those fields,” (H IX 110:17) *ina lib-bi bītāti^{bá meš} ša-a-šu-nu*, (RA XXVIII 1:23) *eqlāti^{meš} ša-šu-nu-ma* *mzi-li-pa-am-pa* (:24) *ú-za-aq-qa-ma*, (H IX 21:14) *bītāti^{bá meš} ša-šu-nu-ma*.

74. While in every other instance *šāšunū* is also used with nouns terminating with the suffix of the fem. pl. (in addition to examples in § 73, cf. N 126:14, H IX 21:16, and H IX 35:12), a lone scribe with an un-Nuzian sense of grammatical gender, Tāb-milki-abi (§ 24), writes: (H V 71:9) *i-na bītāti^{bá}* (:10) *ša-ši-na*.

75. The use of the Babylonian²⁵ demonstrative *šū* is very limited in these texts: (N 227:8) *ša ma-an-ni-im-me-e eqlu^{meš}* (:9) *pa-ri-ka-na ir-ta-ši* (:10) *ú awēlu šu-ú ú-za-ak-ka-ma* “if anyone’s field have a claimant, that man shall clear it” (written by Artashenni, a scribe given to classicizing) and (N 66:9) *kirū šu-ú*.

76. In one instance, what may (?) be the classical oblique case of *šū*; to wit, *šuātu*, occurs: (G 15:13) *IV imēr eq[li]* (:14) *šu-a-du-um-ma*.

RÉSUMÉ

77. a) The forms of *annū* “this,” tabulated in Table II, are frequently misused as to case, number, and gender.

²⁵ The Assyrian laws (and Cappadocian tablets) have *šū* instead (Satk, pp. 20, 22).

b) The demonstrative *šašu* "that" and its pl. *šašunū* qualify nouns irrespective of case and gender. From the comparative table (Table III) it will be observed that while other Akkadian dialects form the oblique case of the demonstrative by adding the pronominal *t*-element (associated with the *acc.* personal pro.), the Nuzi dialect appropriates the *š*-element (used in making the classical *dat.* personal pro.).

TABLE II

	Masc.	Fem.
Sg. nom. . . .	<i>annū(m)</i>	<i>annitu(m)</i>
gen.	<i>anni(m)</i>	<i>anniti/e</i>
acc.	<i>annā(m)</i>
Pl. nom. . . .	<i>annūnu(m)</i>
Oblique . . .	<i>annūti</i>	<i>annāti</i>

TABLE III

	NUZI DEMONSTRATIVE	AKKADIAN PERSONAL PRONOUN		AKKADIAN DEMONSTRATIVE
	Nom.-Gen.-Acc.	Dat.	Acc.	Oblique
Sg. masc. . . .	<i>šašu</i>	<i>šašu, š(u)āši(m)</i>	<i>šuāti</i>	<i>šātu, š(u)āti/u</i>
Sg. fem. . . .	<i>šašu</i>	<i>š(i)āši(m)</i>	<i>šiāti</i>	<i>šāti, šiāti</i>
Pl. masc. . . .	<i>šašunū</i>	<i>šašunū</i>	<i>šātunū</i>	<i>šātunū, šunūti</i>
Pl. fem. . . .	<i>šašunū (šašinā rare)</i>	<i>šašinā</i>	<i>šātinā</i>	<i>šātinā, šināti</i>

VI. DETERMINATIVE USES OF *ša*

EXPRESSIONS OF POSSESSION

78. Gen. relationship may be expressed by the construct state followed by a gen. or by the circumlocution with *ša*: (N 19:1 *et passim*) *dub-bi ma-ru-ti ša^m* "the tablet of the adoption of X," (N 17:9) *ina li-it* (:10) *bītāti^{meš} ša^mki-pa-a-a* "on the boundary of the estate of Kipaya," and (N 23:7 *et passim*) *i-na li-it eqli ša^m*

79. The classical Semitic construction of *nomen regens* and *rectum* (e.g., (H V 68:3) *aššat^{at} ma-be-ia* "the wife of Abeya") is sometimes conflated with the *ša*-circumlocution, resulting in the unorthodox combination of *construct noun* + *ša* + *gen.*: (N 120:9) *aššat^{at}* (:10) *ša^men-na-ma-ti*, (N 312:8) *ina bīt^{it} ša^men-na-ma-ti la ú-zi* "from the house of Ennamati he shall not go out."

80. Proleptic pronouns in conjunction with *ša*-circumlocutions are very common: (N 23:11) *lišān-šu ša^mšamaš-še-mi ina pa-ni ši-bu-ti*

(:12) *an-nu-ti* "the declaration of Shamashsheme before these witnesses," (N 120:21) *mara(t)-zu ša mār-ištar* "the daughter of Mār-Ištar," and (H V 7:13) *aš-ša-az-zu ša m. . . .* "the wife of. . . ."

81. The order *ša + gen. + nom.* occurs particularly in a formula, of which the following is a variant: (N 68:31) [*V*] *II awēlūti^{meš} an-nu-du ša eqlī mu-še-el-wu-ú (:32) ù šu-nu-ú-ma ša šubāti^{meš} su-zi-ia-na-ti ù ša immerāti^{meš} na-ti-na-n[u]* "these seven men are the surveyors of the field and they are the conveyors of the garment, leather headdress(?)²⁶ and sheep."

82. There is also the combination (*ša*) + (*gen.*) + (*nom. + resumptive pro.*): (H IX 36:4) *ša VI sīsē^{meš} (:5) ši-im-šu (a-šar (:6) mši-il-wi-te-šub mār šarri (:7) el-te-gi)* "the price of 6 horses (from Shilwiteshub, the son of the King, I received)."

COMPOUNDED WITH NOUNS

83. Determinative *ša* "that of" is sometimes used as the first element of virtual compound nouns: (N 295:6) *ki-ma ša erī^{meš}* "in consideration of copper objects" and (N 295:20) *III awēlūti^{meš} ši-bu-ti (:21) ša erī^{meš} ša in-di-nu* "the three men who conveyed the copper objects" (the second *ša* is relative).

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84. a) The gen. relationship is expressed in any of the following ways: (1) *mār A*, (2) *māru ša A*, (3) *mār ša A*, (4) *māršū ša A*, (5) *ša A māru*, and (6) *ša A māršū* "the son of A."

b) *ša* is placed before nouns much like the Arabic *ذو* (Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 265) or modern Arabic *abū* "that of," in the combination *ša erī* "bronze objects" (*lit.*: "that of bronze").

VII. RELATIVE PRONOUNS

RELATIVE *ša*

85. As nom.: (N 19:33) *kunuk ma-ḥu-ia ša eqla iddinu^{nu}* "the seal of Aḥuya who gave the house." As acc.: (N 24:8) *bītāti^{bā} ša id-di-nu* "the houses that he gave" and (H IX 17:13) *sinnišāti^{meš} ša m'ú-a-ma it-ti-nu* "the women, whom Uama gave." In the foregoing examples, *ša* is properly followed by the subjunctive. It is not unusual,

² Cf. Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, X (1930), 37.

however, to meet the indicative: (N 108:23) *tu-pu ša ma-ḫi-iš-pu-ti ša il-te-gi* "the tablet of guarantor, which he has received."

86. Apposition (e.g., at H V 10:26 *un-nu-ki be-el eqli* "Unnuki, the owner of the field") may be substituted by changing the appositive to a nominal relative clause introduced by *ša*: (H IX 97:14) *ma-e ša bēl eqli* "Tae, who is the owner of the field," (N 139:1) *'e-du-pa ša (:12) amtu* "Edupa, who is the handmaid" and (N 298:2) *I amtu ša ḫa-ši-ia (:3) ša 'ar-za-bi* "a handmaid of Hashia, who is (called) Arzabi."

GENERAL RELATIVES

87. The usual general relative is *mannumē* with or without the addition of *ša*, followed as a rule by the subjunctive.²⁷ Examples of *mannumē* in conjunction with *ša*: (N 39:7) *ma-an-nu-me-e i-na bi-ri-šu-nu (:8) ša ibbalkatu^{tu28}* "whoever among them that breaks the contract," (N 98:17) *ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na be-ri-šu-nu ša ibbalkatu^{kat-tu}*,²⁹ (N 29:26) *ma-an-nu-um-me-e ša i-na bēri-šu-nu (:27) ibbalkatu^{tu}*, and (N 61:26) *ma-an-nu-um-mi-e ša ibbalkatu*.³⁰ In the following, note the double appearance of *ša*, and the variant writing of *mannumē*:³¹ (H IX 33:9) *ma-an-nu-ū-mi-e ša (:10) i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ša i-bal-la-qa-tu(m)* (lit.) "whoever, who among them, who breaks the contract."

88. Not uncommonly, *mannumē* occurs without *ša*: (H V 60:18) *ma-an-nu-um-me-e (:9) i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ip-pa-la-qa-tu(m)* (cf. N 207:9-10), (N 64:11) *ma-an-nu-um-mi i-bal-la-qa-tu*, (N 201:15) *ma-an-nu-um-me i-na be-ri-šu-nu ibbalaktu^{pa-la-ak-du}*,³² (H V 61:7) *ma-an-nu-me i-na be-ri-šu-nu (:8) i-bal-ga-tu*, and (N 251:12) *ma-an-nu-me i-na be-ri-šu-nu (:13) i-bal-ga-tu(m)*.³³

²⁷ However, sometimes the indicative: (N 78:25) *ma-an-nu-um-me-e š[a] i-na be-ri-šu-nu ibbalkat^{kat}*, (N 87:22) *ma-an-nu ša ibbalkat^{kat}*, (H IX 20:37) *ma-an-nu ša i-na be-ri-šu-nu ibbalkat^{at}*, (TCL 6:25) *[m]a-an-nu-ū ša ina be-ri-šu-nu (:26) ibbalkat^{kat}*.

²⁸ BAL^{tu} (for KI.BAL^(tu)).

²⁹ BAL^{kat-tu}.

³⁰ BAL.

³¹ The usual writing is (N 9:22, N 13:23 *et passim*) *ma-an-nu-um-me-e*. In addition to the variants in the foregoing text: (N 7:14, N 259:27) *ma-an-nu-um-mi-e*, (H IX 71:12) *ma-an-nu-mi*, (N 86:13) *ma-nu-mi*, (H V 85:20) *ma-an-nu-um-e* (with *mi* omitted before final *e*, as in l. 11, *im-ma-ti-e* for *im-ma-ti-mi-e* "when"). (H V 28:15) *ma-an-um-me-e*, (H IX 6:11) *ma-an-nu-me-e*, (H V 72:50) *ma-an-nu-um-me*, and (H V 63:8) *ma-an-nu-um ibbalkatu^{tu}* (GA^{tu} erroneously for BAL^{tu}).

³² KI^{pa-la-ak-du}.

³³ The last two passages (H V 61, N 251) are written by Iṭḫabiḫi. Note the uncommon writing of *mannumē* and *ibbalkatu*.

89. *ša*, alone, may serve as a general relative: (N 6:8) *ša i-ba-la-ka-tu(m)* (:9) *i-na be-ri-šu-nu* (:10) *II manā hurāši* (:11) *umallā*³⁴ "whoever between them that breaks the contract shall pay 2 minas of gold," (N 89:15) *ša i-na be-ri-šu-nu ib-ba-la-qa-tu(m)* and (N 119:18) *ša i-pa-la-qa-tu(m) ina bi-ri-šu-nu*,³⁵ (N 7:20) *ša ibbalkatu*^{tu(m)} and (N 88:15) *ša i-bal-qa-tu*.

90. The classical *mannu* occasionally appears (instead of the typically Nuzian *mannumē*) in combination with *ša*: (N 1:10, N 31:19, N 62:15) *ma-an-nu ša (ibbalkatu)* and (N 53:13) *ma-nu ša (ibbalakatu^{la-qa-tu})*.³⁶ Cf. n. 27.

91. In the following general relative combination, found only once in the published texts, *ḫennu* is apparently a local Hurrian loanword: (N 273:15) *ša i-en-nu-ū ša ibbalkatu*³⁷ (:16) *I manā kaspi ù I manā hurāši* (:17) *umallā* "whoever breaks the contract shall pay a mina of silver and a mina of gold."

92. The genitive (possessive) of the general relative *mannumē* is (1) *ša mannimē*; of the classical *mannu* (§ 90), (2) *ša manni*.—1. The usual writing³⁸ of *ša mannimē* is (N 268:20, etc.) *ša ma-an-ni-im-me-e*: (N 104:13) *ša ma-an-ni-im-me-e eglu-šu* (:14) *bi-ir-qa irtašī^{šī} ù ú-za-qa* "he (whoever he be) whose field may have a claim, shall clear it."—2. Nabū-ilu³⁹ the scribe, prefers the more classical *ša manni*: (N 137:14) *ša ma-an-ni eglu pa-ki-ra-na irtašū^{meš ú}* (:15) *ù ú-za-aq-qa*, (N 194:13) *ša ma-an-ni bītu^{meš}-šu pa-ki-ra-na irtašī^{meš šī}*, and (N 152:13) *ša ma-an-ni eq[lī]-ia⁴⁰* (:14) *pa-ki-ra irtašī ù ú-za-qa*.

93. The adjectival pro., related to the general relative *mannumē*, is *minnumē* with nouns of either number or gender: (N 120:24) *mi-nu-um-me-e mārē^{meš} ù mārātī^{meš}* "all the (*lit.*: whichever) sons and daughters," (N 42:29) *mi-nu-um-me-e šī-bu-ti* "all the witnesses,"

³⁴ I.L.A.E (for the more usual DIRIG).

³⁵ Note the characteristic Nuzian variety in the wording of this formula.

³⁶ BAL^{la-qa-tu}.

³⁷ BAL.

³⁸ Note the variants: (N 259:22) *ša ma-an-ni-im-mi-e* and (N 276:6) *ša ma-ni-mi-e*. The scribe, Iṭḫabiḫi, regularly writes: (N 131:14, N 224:21, N 245:10, N 261:10, etc.) *ša ma-an-ni-me-e*, without *im* before *me*.

³⁹ AK-DINGIR-RA.

⁴⁰ Note *eqli-ia* where *eglu(-šu)* is required. The tablet is a declaration, delivered, originally, in the first person. Declarations are recorded, now in direct discourse, now in the third person. Here the scribe conflated *ša manni eglu pāqirā(na) irtašī* (version in third person) with possibly *šumma eqliya pāqirā(na) irtašī* (direct quotation).

(N 101:2) *mi-nu-um-me-e* (:3) *eqlāti^{mes}* *a-wi-i-ru mi-nu-um-me-e* (:4) *ka-aq-qa-ru pa-i-ḫu* (:5) *ù ka-aq-qa-ra ša bītāti^{mes}* *ib-šu* "all the (lit.: whatever) the *awiru* fields, all the *paihu* land and all land with buildings (that⁴¹) there are," (H V 99:6) *mi-nu-um-me-e pu-uḫ-ḫu-ur-šu* "all his accumulation(s)," (H V 71:17) *mi-nu-um-mi-e šamnu^{mes}* *erū^{mes}* "all the oil and bronze," and (N 65:4) [*m*]*i-nu-um-mi-e eqlāti^{ti}*-*šu bītāti^{mes}* *ti-šu* "all his real estate."⁴²

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94. (a) Relative: *ša* "who." (b) General Relatives: (1) *mannumē ša*, (2) *mannumē*, (3) *ša*, (4) *mannu ša*, and (5) *ša ḫennu ša* (?) "whosoever." (c) Genitive of general relative: (1) *ša mannimē* and (2) *ša manni* "whosoever." (d) Cognate adj. of *mannumē*: *minnumē* "whoever, "whatever," "all."

VIII. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

95. *mamma* "anyone"; construed with *lā*, "no one" "neither one": (H IX 1:20) *ma-am-ma la e-ir-ru-ub* "no one shall enter," (H V 99:15) *ma-am-ma* (:16) *i-na arki ma-am-ma* (:17) *la i-sa-az-zi⁴³* "neither shall raise complaints against the other." Cf. N 131:17 ff.

96. Sometimes *awēlu* appears instead of *mamma*: (N 155:15) *awēlu i-na awēli la i-sa-as⁴³* "one against the other shall not raise complaints."

97. *mimma* "anything": (H V 73:26) *ṽzi-lip-ki-a-še* (:27) *mi-im-ma a-na awēli^{mes}* *na-ki-r[i]* (:28) *la i-na-an-din* "Zilipkiashe shall not give anything to a strange man."

IX. DISTRIBUTIVE PRONOUN

attamannu

98. In these texts a distributive pro., *attamannu* "each," is found: (N 265:27) *ša ma-an-ni-im-me-e* (:28) *bītāti^{bā}* *meš* *ba-ki-ra-na i-ra-aš-šu-ú* (:29) *ṽ at-ta-ma-an-nu bītāti^{bā}* *šu* (:30) *ú-za-aq-qa-ma i-na-an-din* (lit.) "of whomever the houses a claimant get, and each his houses shall clear and give"; i.e. (freely), "in case the houses (which the

⁴¹ Relative *ša* omitted haplogically because of determinative *ša*, before *bītāti*.

⁴² The asyndetic combination of *eqlāti bītāti* is the Nuzi term for "real estate" (G 10:19, etc.) as against *mimma* (*šumšu*) "movable property" (G 12:22 ff.).

⁴³ For *išassī*.

parties herewith exchange) have claimants, each shall clear his (former) property, giving (the sum required to the new owner)," (N 226:24) *ša ma-an-ni-im-me-e eglu^{meš}-šu* (:25) *bi-ir-qa ir-ta-ši at-ta-ma-an-nu* (:26) *eqla^{meš}-šu-ma ú-za-ak-ku-ú*, (H V 73:15) *mārē^{meš} [š]a mzi-gi* (:16) *at-ta-ma-an-nu ki-i* (:17) *emūqi-šu zitta i-lik-ku-ú* "as for the sons of Zigi, each shall take a portion according to his allotment," and (N 259:22) *at-t[a-ma-an-nu]* (:25) *eqla^{meš}-šu ú-za-[ak-ka]-ma*. At H V 72:37, note the variant *ad-da-ma-an-nu*. (Observe, from the foregoing illustrations, that *attamannu* may be construed with a verb in the pl. as well as sg.)

mannu

99. In N 280, *mannu* is the equivalent of the *attamannu*: (:9) [*ša ma-an-ni-im-mi* (:10) *awēlu-šu pa-ki-ra-na irtaši^{ši}* (:11) *ù ma-an-nu awēla-šu-ma ú-za-aq-qa* "whosoever man has a claimant, that person (*lit.*: each) his man shall clear."

X. PRONOUNS OF NUMBER

gabbu "ALL"

100. With resumptive suffix: N 206:13) *eqlu zittu* (:14) *qa-pa-šu-ma ù kirū qa-pa-šu-ma* *lit.*, "the field, (to wit,) the inheritance portion (in) its entirety, and the grove (in) its entirety," (N 206:46) *an-nu-tu(m) šībūtu^{meš tu(m)} qa-pa-šu-nu-ma* (:47) *alpē^{meš} bītāti^{meš} erā^{meš} i-di-nu* "all these witnesses conveyed the cattle, houses, and bronze," (RA XXVIII 4:18) *naphar naphari XII awēlūti^{meš} kap-pa-šu-nu* "the grand total is all 12 men." With proleptic pro.: (N 107:19) *qa-ap-pa-šu-nu-ma* (:20) *eqlātu^{meš tu(m)} il-te-gi-mi* "I have received all the fields." Without pro.: (N 206:10) *I awiḥaru kirū qa-bu-um-ma* "the entire grove of 1 *awiḥaru*." Tautologically with *minnumē* (§ 93): (N 307:3) *mi-nu-um-me-e [eqlāti^{meš}-šu]* (:4) *ka-ab-ba-šu-nu-ma* "whatever (there are of) his fields, all of them." Against the normal Nuzi (N 196:5) *bītāti^{bá meš} ka-pa-šu-nu-ma*, note, at N 206:13, *bītāti^{bá meš} qa-pa-ši-na-ma*, with the fem. suffix seldom found in these texts.

kelallē "BOTH," "EITHER"

101. (N 297:34) *šum-ma eglu ba-ki-ra-na* (:35) *irašī^{ši} ki-la-al-li-šu-nu-ma ú-za-aq-qa* . . . "if the field have a claimant, both of them shall clear i(t)," (N 229:25) *an-nu-ti awēlūti^{meš} eqlāti^{bá meš}* (:26) *ki-la-*

al-lu-um-ma i[l-wu-ú] "these men surveyed both fields," (N 239:17) *šum-ma bītāti^{hā meš}* (:18) *ki-la-li-im-ma bi-ir-qa* (:19) *i-ra-aš-ši mīt-ḫi-ip-ta-še-ni* (:20) *ú-za-qa-šu-nu* "if either property be claimed, Iḫiptasheni shall clear it" (*lit.*: "given that both houses have a claim, Iḫiptasheni shall clear them"), N 236:16) *šum-ma bītāti^{hā meš} ki-la-li-ma* (:17) *bi-ir-qa i-ra-aš-šu-ú* (:18) *^mta-ú-ḫé-ma ú-za-aq-qa*.

kālu "ALL," "ANY"

102. (N 29:19) *šum-ma kirā* (:20) *gal-la i-na-ak-ki-iz-zu* "if they cut any of the grove."

allutu/i "OTHERS" (?)

103. (H V 21:8) *ù al-lu-tu(m) mārē-ia* (:9) *ri-ḫu-tu(m)* "and the others (?), my remaining sons" and (H V 105:23) *imērē^{meš} ša ^mḫu-ti-ia* (:24) *aš-bu ù š[a] al-lu-ti ia-nu* "the asses of Hutīya are (present), but those of the others(?) are not."

XI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

104. Peculiarities of the Nuzi pro. may be either (a) inner Semitic or (b) foreign. *šāšu*, § 77(2), illustrates the first class. As for the second, it must be noted that many characteristics of Nuzi Akkadian are due to Hurrian influences; e.g., (1) phonetic peculiarity (§ 5; cf. Bork,⁴⁴ p. 30; Kramer, pp. 65–72); (2) confusion of genders (§§ 17, 55, 77; Bork, pp. 43 and 70–71) and (3) cases (§§ 62 ff.; Bork, p. 45); (4) frequent failure to differentiate between the numbers of a given person (§§ 16, 26, 27, 51, 55 [3], etc.; Bork, p. 10); (5) extremely common use of resumptive pronouns (n. 2, *et passim*; Bork, p. 13); (6) pleonastic conjunction "and" (H V 76:1 ff.; N 123:3 ff.; Speiser, *Family Laws*, p. 30; Bork, p. 30, n. 1); (7) general absence of fixed grammatical forms (§ 61 ff., *et passim*; Bork, p. 45), etc. Indeed, we may say of this dialect what Bork (p. 46) said of Hurrian; to wit, that much of it must be explained from the standpoint of the speaker's needs rather than by rules of grammar (e.g., § 54).

⁴⁴ *Die Mitannisprache* [=Hurrian], *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 14 Jahrgang, 4 Heft (1909).

אלהים in Its Reputed Meaning of Rulers, Judges

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אלהים IN ITS REPUTED MEANING OF RULERS, JUDGES

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The very first definition under אלהים in Brown-Driver-Briggs (p. 43) is *rulers, judges*.

The word occurs in the ceremony of making a permanent slave of the Hebrew slave who does not wish to go free in the sabbatical year (Ex. 21 6): "And his master shall bring him unto האלהים and shall bring him to the door or unto the door-post, and his master shall bore through his ear with an awl, and he shall serve him forever." Aquila and Symmachus (πρὸς τοὺς θεούς) and the Vulgate (*diis*) are happily satisfied with a literal translation. Onkelos, who would naturally be shocked by the implications of the literal meaning, reads דיניא *judges* (= Peshitto כִּנְיָ). The Septaugint attempts, after a fashion, to combine both of these translations: πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

It has been suggested that האלהים means *the sanctuary*, where the juridical as well as the oracular word was sought.¹ However, it is a canon of criticism not to seek an unusual meaning, if the plain one makes sense. Schwally made the interesting suggestion that the אלהים in Ex. 21 6 are תרפים *penates, household gods*.² Baentsch³ also holds that *penates* are meant, whose figures were set upon the door. Ex. 21 6 is in the Covenant Code, which

¹ *Exodus und Leviticus*, von August Knobel neu bearbeitet von August Dillmann (2 ed.), Leipzig, 1880, p. 226.

² *ZATW*, 1891, pp. 181 ff.

³ *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri* (in Nowack's *Handkommentar zum AT* series), Göttingen, 1903, p. 190.

harks back to ancient times when the Israelites still held on to certain heathen survivals.⁴ It is significant that in the later Deuteronomic recension of this law (Dt. 15 17) the ceremony is purged of האלהים *the penates*: "And thou shalt take the awl and thrust it through his ear and into the door and he shall be a slave unto thee forever."

A second instance of the usage in point is found in Ex. 22 6-7: "If a man deliver unto his neighbor money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief shall be found, he shall pay double. If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come near to האלהים (to swear) that he did not put his hand upon his neighbor's good." The Septuagint reads for אלהים אלהים *ἐν ὅπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ* with the addition *καὶ ὀμνεῖται* and the Vulgate, *ad deos* adding *et jurabit*, and this interpretation that an oath is meant is borne out by the parallel in v. 10: "And the oath of the Lord shall be between them both (to see) whether he did not put his hand upon his neighbor's goods." However, Onkelos renders אלהים אלהים in v. 7 as לקדם דיניא "before the judges;" cf. Peshitto ܐܠܗܝܡ ܕܝܢܝܐ.

It is my contention that here אלהים does not mean *God* as the Septuagint translates, nor *judges*, which is the interpretation of the Peshitto and Targum Onkelos, followed by Rashi and Ibn Ezra (הדיינין), by several of the English versions and by the lexicon. The literal translation, *gods*⁵ (plural.), found in the Vulgate (*ad deos*) and Luther's version (*vor die Götter*) is better suited to what appears to be the real meaning of the passage in the light of newly discovered material.

The Nuzi⁶ court records frequently mention the administering

⁴ The Covenant Code must be older than J and E, since it was incorporated in them. J and E date from the latter part of the ninth or the early part of the eighth century B. C., J being about a half century earlier than E. See J. M. P. Smith, *Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, Chicago, 1931, p. 15.

⁵ Note that האלהים in Ex. 22 7, 8 are court חרפים, while in Ex. 21 6 they are properly household gods.

⁶ Nuzi is a mound ten miles southwest of Kirkuk, Iraq. The tablets found there date from about the fifteenth century B. C. and are written in a corrupt dialect of Akkadian. For the bearing of these documents on the Old Testament, cf. Gordon, "Parallèles nouziens aux lois et coutumes de l'Ancien Testament," *Revue Biblique*, XLIV (1935), pp. 34-41; and "A New Akkadian

of the oath of the gods; i. e., the *ilāni*, the etymological equivalent of אלהים. These gods were idols in conjunction with which the oaths were made. I have elsewhere demonstrated the equation *ilāni* = אלהים = חרפים for another context,⁷ and it seems that this equation is valid for Ex. 22 7 as well.

Since most of the Nuzi tablets are still untranslated and inaccessible to the Bible student, I shall give a few examples of the *ilāni* oath in transliteration and translation.

Text N IV, 347⁸ is a court record of a lawsuit brought by one Tehiptilla against Arshimika on account of a sheep that had been stolen. Arshimika does not admit his guilt, whereupon:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 14) <i>daiānimeš a-na</i> | The judges to |
| 15) <i>ar-ši-mi-ka₄ iq-ta-bu-ú</i> | Arshimika said: |
| <i>ilānimeš a-na</i> | "Swear by the |
| <i>awêlemeš zi-el-li-ku-uh-li-emeš⁹</i> | gods against (the plaintiff's) |
| <i>i-ši-mi¹⁰ ù</i> | witnesses. And |
| <i>ar-ši-mi-ka₄</i> | Arshimika |
| 20) <i>ilānimeš a-na awêlemeš</i> | swore by the gods |
| <i>zi-el-li-ku-uh-li-emeš</i> | against the |
| <i>it-ta-ši</i> | witnesses. |

Parallel to Deuteronomy 25 11-12," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XV (1935).

⁷ Namely, for Gn. 31 19, 32; see *Revue Biblique*, XLIV, p. 36. It was Sidney Smith who first identified חרפים with the *ilāni* of the Nuzi tablets; *apud* C. J. Gadd, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXIII (1926), p. 127.

⁸ The following abbreviations are used in citing Nuzi tablets:

N I and N IV: Nuzi texts appearing in *Publications of the Baghdad School* (American Schools of Oriental Research) by Edward Chiera; vol. I, Paris, 1927 and vol. IV, Philadelphia, 1934.

H V and H IX: *Harvard Semitic Series*, vol. V (by Chiera, 1929) and vol. IX (by Robert Pfeiffer, 1932).

⁹ *Zilikuhlu* is the native (i. e., Hurrian) Nuzi word for *witness*. The ending *-uhlu* is that of the *nomen agentis*; cf. *ma(n)zatuḫlu* below. The normal Akkadian word for witness is *šibu*; cf. H V 47:32-33 cited below.

¹⁰ The root is *našû*. The corresponding expression in Hammurabi's Code is *ni-iš i-lim i-za-kar-ma* "he shall pronounce the oath of the god" (I rev. 29-30; V rev. 74-75; XXI rev. 41-42). Cf. *ma-ḥar i-lim* (VII 36), *i-na ma-ḥar i-lim* (V rev. 18) and *i-na ma-ḥar i-lim ù ši-bi* "in the presence of the god and the witnesses" (I rev. 61, II rev. 7). It is worthy of note that in Hammurabi's Code it is a single god, whereas in the Nuzi tablets it is the plural *ilānimeš* that regularly occurs.

Text H V 47 is a lawsuit brought by Shurihi against his adopted son, Hupita. Hupita is accused of robbing Shurihi's house. After Shurihi and his witnesses testify:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 31) <i>daiāni^{meš} a-na</i> | The judges to |
| <i>ḥu-pi-ta iq-ta-bu-ú ṣu-ri-hi-ma</i> | Hupita said: "Swear by the |
| <i>qa-du ši-bu-ti-šu ilāni^{meš}</i> | gods (against) Shurihi with |
| <i>i-si-šu-mi</i> | his witnesses." |
| <i>ù ḥu-pi-ta ṣu-ri-hi qa-du</i> | And Hupita swore (against) |
| <i>ši-bu-ti-šu</i> | Shurihi with his |
| 35) <i>it-ta-ši-iš</i> | witnesses. |

In these two tablets the defendants accept the right of swearing the oath of the gods (and incidentally lose the case both times). However, in nearly every other instance in the Nuzi court records, the defendant "fears the gods" or "does not agree to take the oath of the gods," upon which the plaintiff is awarded the verdict. Thus, in H V 52, Akapshenni brings charges against Akkapu including that of assault and battery. On being ordered to take the oath of the gods, Akkapu breaks down and confesses his guilt:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 20) <i>ù daiāni^{meš}</i> | And the judges |
| <i>a-na mak-kà-ḥu iq-tà-bu-ú</i> | said to Akkapu: |
| <i>a-na ši-bu-ti ilāni^{meš} i-ši-mi</i> | "Take the oath of the gods |
| <i>ù lišān-šu ša mak-kà-ḥu</i> | against the witnesses." |
| <i>a-na ḥa-ni daiāni^{meš} it-tà-ra[—]</i> | And (this is) the declaration |
| | of Akkapu. |
| | Before the judges he replies |
| | (?): |
| 25) <i>ma-kap-še-ešn-ni ar-tà-pi-is-mi</i> | "I struck Akapshenni." |
| <i>a-šar ilāni^{meš} mak-kà-ḥu id-dú-ra</i> | Akkapu was afraid of the gods. |
| <i>ma-kap-še-en-ni ina di-ni</i> | Akapshenni won the |
| <i>il-te-e-ma</i> | case. |

Compare also the following:

H IX 12:34) *ilāni^{meš} ṣdu-ra-ar-te-šup id-du-ur-ra* "Durarteshup was afraid of the gods."

N IV 353:16) *ilāni^{meš} ṣtil-li-ia la im-gus-ur* (17) *a-na na-še-e* "Tilliya would not agree to swear by the gods."

N IV 326:16) *a-na ilānimeš na-še-e* (17) *la im-gur uš-tu* (18) *ilānimeš til-li-ia* (19) *id-du-ra* "To swear by the gods he would not agree. Of the gods Tilliya was afraid."

Thus the oath of the gods¹¹ is a well attested ceremony in ancient oriental court procedure and there is no doubt that the same ceremony is indicated by בעליהבית אלהים. It is interesting to note that this idiom, קרב אלהים, is found in its exact Akkadian counterpart in the Nuzi tablets (N I 89:10-12) *ana ilāni qarābu*, where the *ilāni* mean the תרפים.¹²

There is another instance of אלהים in the sense of court תרפים; to wit, Ex. 22 8 ישלם אלהים אשר ירשיען אלהים יבא דברשניהם אשר ירעהו. "The cause of both of them shall come unto the gods. He whom the gods condemn shall pay double unto his neighbor." The context indicates an oath, and again the analogy with the *ilāni*-oath holds.

The remaining passages listed in BDB as examples of אלהים *rulers, judges* offer no serious difficulty; e. g., in the case of I Sam. 2 25 אם יחטא איש לאיש ופללו אלהים ואם ליהוה יחטא איש מי (יחללילו) if אלהים is translated simply as *God*, the verse makes perfect sense and there is no need of ascribing an unusual meaning to אלהים. The other passages (Ex. 2 27, Ju. 5 8, Ps. 82 1, 6, 138 1) are given as dubious by BDB, some scholars interpreting אלהים as *angels* or *gods*.

How did the meaning *rulers, judges* come to be attached to אלהים in these passages? The plain, and doubtless the true, translation of Ex. 22 27 תאר לא חמר לא אלהים is "Thou shalt not revile God nor curse a ruler of thy people." The Septuagint and the Vulgate translate אלהים as *gods*. Unable to tolerate the thought of reviling God, Onkelos translates אלהים as *judges*. Naturally, the Jewish expositors, such as Rashi and Ibn Ezra, approved of this translation. It received the kindred meaning of *rulers* since it is parallel to נשיא. Thus on the basis

¹¹ It should be pointed out in passing that in Nuzi the oath of the gods is sometimes administered by officers called *ma(n)zatuḥlu*; e. g., H IX 12:28-34, H IX 108:34:41, N IV 46:48. These officers are appointed by the judges.

¹² The *ilāni* are here the household gods, possession of which is tantamount to the title-deed of an estate. This is the significance of the תרפים אלהים which Rachel stole from Laban (Gn. 31).

of such a passage, where the meaning *ruler* is totally unnecessary, *ruler* became the first definition for אלהים in BDB. Similarly, because the heathenish rite of the אלהים in the sense of תרפים in Ex. 21 6 and 22 7, 8 offended Onkelos, he interpreted it as *judges*, again to be followed by medieval and modern commentators (listed in BDB) and finally to be adopted even by the lexicon.

It is significant that the ancient oath of the gods is limited to Ex. 22 7, 8 occurring in the Covenant Code. This heathen survival was naturally obliterated in the puritanic laws of the later Deuteronomic and Priestly rescensions.

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FRATRIARCHY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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IN a brilliant monograph, Professor Paul Koschaker has identified and described fratriarchy, a hitherto unrecognized social factor in the ancient East.¹ His evidence is culled mainly from the cuneiform documents of the Hittites from Hayasha, of the Hurrians from Arrapha and Nuzi, and of the Elamites from Susa. The first two groups of documents date from the second half of the second millennium B. C. and correspond roughly to the El-Amarna Age. The Susa records are contemporary with the first dynasty of Babylon (early part of second millennium B. C.).

Koschaker has not included biblical material. In this paper I present a preliminary account of my observations on the fratriarchal elements in the Old Testament, hoping that jurists and Bible scholars will take up the study of this new and promising phase of society reflected in the Hebrew Scriptures.

A relationship called *ahhātu* "brotherhood," as against *mârātu*² "sonship" and *abbātu*³ "parentship," occurs in the tablets from Nuzi⁴ and Susa⁵ and a man could adopt another into this state

¹ "Fratriarchat Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, N. F. VII, 1933, pp. 1-89.

² The largest group of *mârātu* documents from Nuzi are in E. Chiera, *Inheritance Texts*, vol. I of *Publications of the Baghdad School (American Schools of Oriental Research)*, Paris, 1927.

³ See text 67₃₇ in Chiera, *Harvard Semitic Series*, V, 1929. The term also occurs in the "Vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra" published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, XII, 1931, p. 236.

⁴ See Koschaker, "Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit," *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXIX, no. 5, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 88-91.

⁵ Cf. V. Scheil, *Actes juridiques susiens*, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, XXIII, Paris, 1932, text 286₆, pp. 154-155. The first juridical treatment of the subject is by E. Cuq, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXVIII, 1931, pp. 51-53.

of "brotherhood." Similarly, in Nuzi, women were sometimes adopted into the corresponding state of *aḫātūtu* "sistership."⁶ Thus fratriarchal jurisdiction was a distinct institution, of which the ancients were aware and for which they had an accepted legal terminology.

Patriarchy, matriarchy⁷, and fratriarchy are not mutually exclusive. In a patriarchal form of society where polygyny is practised, a measure of matriarchy is bound to appear, since a man's children will naturally be grouped according to their mothers. Thus we find the division of Jacob's progeny into the Rachel and Leah tribes. Then again, if one of the sons, such as the first-born, is to succeed his father as patriarch, he will, as a matter of course, assume some degree of authority over his brothers, and hence fratriarchy. That patriarchal and fratriarchal jurisdiction were sometimes combined is shown by I Ch. 26 11: "All the children and brethren of Hosah were thirteen."

There are several pairs of proper names suggesting that the place of the brother in the Hebrew family was comparable to that of father:

אחיהור (Nu. 34 27)	&	אביהור (I Ch. 8 3)
אחשבו ⁸ (I Sam. 22 9)	&	אבישבו (I Ch. 8 11)
אחיה (I Ch. 2 25)	&	אביה (II Ch. 29 1)
אחישלך ¹⁰ (Ps. 52 2)	&	אבישלך (Gn. 20 2)

⁶ Chiera, *Inheritance Texts*, no. 78 and *Harvard Semitic Series*, V, no. 26 deal with *aḫātūtu*.

⁷ See V. Aptowitzer, "Spuren des Matriarchats im jüdischen Schrifttum", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, IV, 1927, pp. 207-240 and V, 1928, pp. 261-297; J. Morgenstern, "Beena Marriage in Ancient Israel and its Historical Implications," *ZAW*, N.F. VI, 1929, pp. 91-110 with additional notes in VIII, 1931, pp. 46-58.

⁸ Cf. the Babylonian name *A-ḫu-ṭābum*, "Brother-is-good"; H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 63b-64a. The Septuagint rendering, Αχισωβ, as well as the Babylonian parallel, point to the reading, אַחִישׁוֹב, against the Massoretic vocalization אַחִישׁוֹב.

⁹ Cf. Babylonian *A-ḫi-ia*, Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 62b.

¹⁰ This name appears on a steatite scarab found at Lachish, dating from about 700 B. C.; see *Illustrated London News*, August 10th, 1935, p. 242. For the Assyrian, Punic and Nabatean names corresponding to אחישלך, see K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian personal Names*, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XLIII, Helsingfors, 1914, p. 17a.

אחינרב	(I Kg. 4 14)	&	אבינרב	(I Kg. 4 11)
אחינעם	(I Sam. 14 50)	&	אבינעם	(Ju. 4 6)
אחיעזר	(I Ch. 12 3)	&	אביעזר	(Josh. 17 2)
אחירם ¹¹ (ל)	(Nu. 26 38)	&	אבירם	(Ps. 106 17)
יואב	(II Ch. 29 12)	&	יואב	(II Sam. 23 18)

There are quite a few other names partly composed of אח "brother":

אחאב ¹²	(I Kg. 16 28)	אחין	(I Ch. 7 19)
אחומי ¹³	(I Ch. 4 2)	אחיסמך	(Ex. 31 6)
אחיאם ¹⁴	(II Sam. 23 33)	אחיקם	(II Kg. 22 12)
אחיו ¹⁵	(II Sam. 6 3)	אחירע	(Nu. 1 15)
אחיד	(I Ch. 8 7)	אחישחר(ו)	(I Ch. 7 10)
אחילוד	(II Sam. 8 16)	אחישר(ו)	(I Kg. 4 6)
אחימות ¹⁶ (ו)	(I Ch. 6 10)	אחיתפל	(II Sam. 15 12)
אחימן ¹⁷	(Nu. 13 22)	אחלב	(Ju. 1 31)
אחימעץ	(I Sam. 14 50)	אחלי ¹⁸	(I Ch. 2 31)

From these names and especially those like אחינעם-בת-אחימעץ (I Sam. 14 50) and אחימלך-בן-אחטוב (I Sam. 22 9), where אח-names are used in successive generations, it is clear that the Hebrews were quite "brother conscious."

In evaluating onomastic evidence, it must be remembered that a name may be a survival, applied without consideration of its original meaning. Therefore, deductions from the meaning of a name need not be valid for the age in which the name first appears in literary sources, but for some earlier period. Never-

¹¹ "Brother-is-exalted." חירם, the name of the king of Tyre, is the same name with aphaeresis of the first syllable.

¹² Cf. the neo-Babylonian name *Aḫ-abi-ia*, K. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch, Acta Soc. Sc. Fen.*, XXXII, 1906, p. 3a. See also W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885, pp. 157 ff.

¹³ Cf. *A-ḫu-ma-a*, Tallqvist, *Neubabyl. Namen.*, p. 4b.

¹⁴ According to the derivation suggested by M. Noth (*Die israelitischen Personennamen*, Stuttgart, 1928, p. 192), this name means "Bruder hat sich als Herscher gezeigt," which is of interest in the light of the present paper.

¹⁵ Noth, *op. cit.*, p. 222, interprets אחיו and אחין as names given with reference to elder brothers.

¹⁶ Cf. *A-ḫi-me-ti*, Tallqvist, *Assyr. per. Names*, p. 17a.

¹⁷ Cf. *A-ḫi-ma-nu*, Tallqvist, *Assyr. per. Names*, p. 17a.

¹⁸ Cf. *A-ḫu-la-a-a*, Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 63a.

theless, fratronymy¹⁹ does reflect contemporary usage. Of course, fratronymic appellations like "Lahmi brother of Goliath" (I Ch. 20 5), "Abishai brother of Joab" (II Sam. 23 18) and "Joel brother of Nathan" (I Ch. 11 38) do not necessarily imply fratriarchal organization, because the brothers are famous historical characters, whereas the fathers are not. However, this is not the case with "Sister of Tubal-cain, Naamah" (Gn. 4 22) nor yet with "Sister of Lotan, Timna" (Gn. 36 22). Similarly, names like "Caleb brother of Jerahmeel" (I Ch. 2 42), "Jada brother of Shammai" (I Ch. 2 32) and "Brother of Micah, Isshiah" (I Ch. 24 25) are clearly fratronymic, where younger children are designated as brothers or sisters of the first-born (for the primogeniture of Tubal-cain, Lotan, Jerahmeel, Shammai and Micah, see Gn. 4 22, 36 20, I Ch. 2 9, 28, 23 20).

The biblical narratives give us casual glimpses of fratriarchal authority. For example, when Rebekah is asked in marriage, her brother Laban plays the leading rôle in the affair (Gn. 24 29 ff.).²⁰ Shechem has to turn to Dinah's brothers as well as to her father, when he wants her as bride for his son, Hamor (Gn. 34 11). David represents his brother, and not his father, as summoning him to a sacrificial feast of the family (I Sam. 20 29).²¹ It is also significant that when Abimelech makes a peace gift for the episode with Sarah, he presents it to Abraham as her brother rather than as her husband (Gn. 20 16).²²

The respect paid to the fratriarch by his brothers is shown in the blessings given by Isaac and Jacob. Isaac, while designating Jacob as fratriarch, says: "Be a lord over thy brothers and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee" (Gn. 27 29), and then Esau is told: "Thou shalt serve thy brother" (Gn. 27 40). Similarly, Jacob appoints Judah as fratriarch, saying: "O Judah,

¹⁹ By fratronymy is meant the pattern "X brother of Y" as against "X son of Z."

²⁰ No mention of their father, Bethuel, occurs until v. 50 and at that it may well be an interpolation; see J. Skinner, *Genesis, Internat. Crit. Com.*, New York, 1910, p. 346.

²¹ However, see Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

²² נחתי אֵלַי כֶּסֶף לְאֹחִיךָ.

let thy brothers praise thee . . . let thy father's sons²³ bow down to thee" (Gn. 49 8).

Fratriarchal jurisdiction extends over the children of deceased brothers. Abraham takes charge of "Lot, the son of his brother" (Gn. 12 5), because Haran, Lot's father, was dead (Gn. 11 28). Also we find "the sons of Ahaziah's brothers serving Ahaziah" (II Ch. 22 8), since all of his forty-two brothers had been slain (II Kg. 10 14).

From Dt. 21 16 it appears that the Deuteronomic legislation was opposed to making a son, other than the first-born, the fratriarch (*qua* "heir").²⁴ However, that this law was not always observed in Israel is evident from I Ch. 26 10: "Shimri was the chief (*i. e.*, fratriarch), though not the first-born, for his father appointed him the chief."²⁵

Fratriarchal terminology deserves more space than can be allotted to it in this preliminary discussion. The present account is limited to essentials. When the fratriarch is the first-born, the

²³ Power over the father's sons is more inclusive than that over the mother's sons (*cf.* Gn. 27 29 cited above).

²⁴ The law is that if a man has two wives, one a favorite and the other not, and the latter bears him his first son, that man shall not be allowed to appoint a son of the favorite wife as first-born to inherit the double share of his estate, which is the right of the real first-born.

²⁵ The preference of Isaac over Ishmael, of Jacob over Esau and of Ephraim over Manasseh has suggested to some scholars that ultimogeniture may have prevailed in ancient Israel. Similarly, David, who was the youngest of his brothers, became king and Solomon, who succeeded him, was preferred to David's older sons. J. G. Frazer (*Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, London, 1919, I, pp. 429 ff.), who makes quite a case for ultimogeniture, believes it natural in a primitive, nomadic form of society for the older sons to strike out for themselves, as they grow up, leaving none but the youngest to care for the parents and the property of the latter. Advocates of the theory of ultimogeniture assume that when the Bible narratives were written, the authors, who lived when primogeniture was the rule, sought out extenuating circumstances to explain away the practice of ultimogeniture. In a private conversation, from which I profited greatly, Dr. Morgenstern has informed me that he considers the entire theory of ultimogeniture in the O.T. untenable. Perhaps the alleged examples of ultimogeniture are nothing more than isolated cases of fathers preferring younger children. Indeed, a father might prefer a son who was neither the first-born nor youngest, but one in between, as is the case of Judah (Gn. 49 8).

term בכור is generally used, though the Chronicler frequently uses ראש in the sense of fratriarch (I Ch. 12 3, 9; 16 5, 23 11, 17, 19, 20 *et passim*). We have already noted I Ch. 26 10, where ראש, "fratriarch", appears in contradistinction to בכור "first-born." An older term for fratriarch is גביר (literally "lord") in Gn. 27 29 (attributed to E). Perhaps the expression האח הגדול had this technical meaning too.²⁶

It is necessary to turn to Akkadian literature for further light on the terminology. The ordinary word for "heir" is *aplu*, though *māru rabû*, "the great son",²⁷ also occurs. Sometimes two brothers share the fratriarchate, and while the one is *primus inter pares*, the other is called a *talîmu* brother. Then comes the "vice-fratriarch," whose title is *terdennu*.²⁸ A still younger brother may be termed *aḫu šeḫru*, "the little brother." The most instructive passage, in this connection, occurs in an inscription of Ashurbanipal²⁹: *I iltu isušāmaš-šum-ukîn aḫi-ia ta-li-me*

²⁶ E. g., Shem is called אחי יפת הגדול, "the elder brother of Japheth" (Gn. 10 21). It should also be observed that in II Ch. 31 12, גביר appears as a synonym for ראש.

²⁷ Common in the Nuzi tablets; e. g., Chiera, *Har. Sem. Ser.*, V, text 21 6. The Hurrian loan-word *ewuru*, as in text 60 11, is used synonymously.

²⁸ The root of *terdennu* (variants are *tardinnu*, *turtānu*, *tartānu*) is *redû*, "to follow." Its development into the meaning "second" is paralleled by *secundus*, from *sequor*, "to follow". Though seldom found as a numeral in Akkadian (for *terdennūtu* as a numeral in the Nuzi tablets, see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXI, 1934, pp. 58-59), *terdennu* was borrowed into Aramaic as the feminine of the numeral "two," תרתי, from which a masculine, תרין, was made. The linguistically proper Aramaic root appears in the ordinal תנין,

which is common in Aramaic dialects (M. Margolis, *Manuel of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, Munich, 1910, p. 33; G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2 ed., Leipzig, 1905, p. 132; T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1878, p. 191), though rarer in Syriac (Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, 2 ed., 1898, p. 95). The explanation generally held that תרין is dissimilated from תנין* (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, Berlin, 1908, p. 230, §84m2*) has been proved incorrect by A. Ungnad (*ZAW*, XLI, 1923, p. 205).

²⁹ Ashurbanipal is of course the fratriarch. It is interesting to note that his name, *Aššur-bānt-apal*, means "Ashur creates an heir (*aplu*)."³⁰ Cf. מראך בלארן (Is. 39 1), which in Akkadian is *Marduk-apal-iddina*, "Marduk has given an heir."

Koschaker (*Fratriarchat*, pp. 60 ff.) demonstrates fratriarchal succession among the Elamite kings and refers to parallels among the patesis of Eshnunna

ana šarru-ut mānu¹¹kar-il¹²dun-ia-[áš] ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šu
 I il¹³aššur-mu-kin-palē¹⁴meš-ia aḫi-ia tar-din-ni ana amēlu¹⁵urigallātu¹⁶
 ug-tal-lib ina pān il¹⁷ [] I il¹⁸aššur-e-til-šamē-eršiti-balliṣu aḫi-ia
 šihri ana amēlu¹⁹urigallātu²⁰ ina pān il²¹sin a-šib al²²harrāni ug-tal-lib.³⁰
 "As for Shamash-shum-ukin, my *talīmu* brother, I appointed
 him (lit., I made his face behold) to the kingship of Kardunia[sh];
 as for Ashur-mukin-pale, my *terdennu* brother, I designated him
 for the *urigallu* priesthood before [Ashur?]; as for Ashur-etil-
 shame-ersiti-ballissu, my younger brother, I designated him
 for the *urigallu* priesthood before the Moon-god, who dwells
 in Harran."

I am not aware of any convincing parallel in the Bible to the *aḫu talīmu*. However, there are analogues to the *terdennu* and possibly to the *aḫu šehru*.

Commonly none of the brothers is given a fratriarchal title in the Old Testament (see Gn. 6 10, I Ch. 1 1 ff.). Then again, only the first-born may be accorded his title, while the rest are merely listed by name (e. g., I Ch. 1 28). Sometimes the brothers are assigned numbers according to seniority: "Ezer is the fratriarch (רֵאשִׁית), Obadiah the second, Eliab the third, Mashmannah the fourth, Jeremiah³¹ the fifth, Attai the sixth, Eliel the seventh, Johanan the eighth, Elzabad the ninth, Jeremiah³² the tenth, Machbannai the eleventh" (I Ch. 12 9-13). However, it is significant that the second son is sometimes given the title of מִשְׁנֶה "second in rank (or command)." Thus in I Sam. 8 2 is the statement: "the name of his first-born is Joel, and the name of his מִשְׁנֶה, Abijah"; cf. I Sam. 17 13: "Eliab, the

(Tell Asmar) and other Sumero-Akkadian rulers. Professor J. A. Montgomery calls my attention to the succession of brothers among the Sassanian kings; see G. Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1876, p. 657. Succession in Israel was definitely from father to son (II Ch. 21 3). As for the incident of Nebuchadnezzar placing Zedekiah on the throne of Judah to succeed Jehoiachin, the Chronicler's version that Jehoiachin was Zedekiah's brother (II Ch. 36 10) is faulty. He was his uncle, as stated in II Kg. 24 17.

³⁰ Cited from M. Streck, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, VII, part 2, Leipzig, 1916, p. 250. The only change made is *tar-din-ni*, for which Streck reads *ḫud-din-ni*. The cuneiform sign in question has the value *tar* or *ḫud*, but there is no doubt that *tar* is required here.

³¹ ירמיה.

³² ירמיהו.

first-born, and his מְשֵׁנָה, Abinadab"; I Ch. 5 12: "Joel is the מְשֵׁנָה and his מְשֵׁנָה is Zechariah." מְשֵׁנָה in the sense of "second in command" is well attested in Est. 10 3, where Mordechai is called the מְשֵׁנָה "second in command," "right hand man" or "vizier" of king Ahasuerus (*cf.* also 2 Ch. 27 7).³³ (It is interesting to note that the Akkadian *terdennu* may also be applied to the king's right hand man, and as such it appears as the loan-word חֲרֵת in Is. 20 1.) I propose the identification of מְשֵׁנָה with *terdennu* in the technical sense of vice-fratriarch.

As for *aḫu šeḫru*, there is the possible parallel האח הקטן as in the name עֲתַנְיָאֵל בֶּן-קִנָּז אחי כלב הקטן ממנו, "Othniel son of Kenaz, younger brother of Caleb" (Ju. 1 13, 3 9); *cf.* הֶבֶן הקטן as in II Ch. 21 17 יהואחז קטן בניו, "Jehoahaz the youngest of his sons."

A discussion of the Old Testament fratriarchy would be incomplete without a word on levirate marriage (Gn. 38, Dt. 25 5-10^{33a} and Ruth). Westermarck³⁴ and Koschaker³⁵ are certainly right in concluding that originally the wife, being her husband's property, was passed on, like the rest of his estate, to his heir. This theory is corroborated by a tablet from Nuzi, whereby a father buys a bride for one of his sons and stipulates that, if that son dies, she is to become the bride of another son of his.³⁶ This is levirate marriage in its crudest form. In the Old Testament, a secondary, sentimental and purely fictitious phase of levirate marriage, to wit, that of supplying the deceased with an heir, has evolved into its *raison d'être*. The whole institution,

³³ A. Ungnad, "Joseph, der Tartan des Pharao," *ZAW*, XLI, 1923, pp. 204-207, demonstrates that Joseph's title of מְשֵׁנָה (Gn. 41 43) is the equivalent of חֲרֵת.

A similar terminology obtains for the priesthood, according to which a priest of the first rank is called כהן הראש and one of the second rank כהן המְשֵׁנָה (see Jer. 52 24).

^{33a} President Morgenstern points out to me that fratriarchal organization may be reflected in the expression, "when brothers are dwelling together" (Dt. 25 5).

³⁴ *History of Human Marriage*, III, London, 1925, pp. 209 ff.

³⁵ *Fratriarchat*, p. 61.

³⁶ Text 441 in Chiera, *Mixed Texts, Publications of the Baghdad School*, V, Philadelphia, 1934.

which was originally the right of the *levir*, has developed into the widow's privilege.³⁷ But basically levirate marriage is fratriarchal.³⁸

In Genesis, there are only three cases where a given father and mother, in antediluvian times, produce more than one specifically named child. Cain, Abel and Seth are born to Adam and Eve. The brother relationship of Abel to the first-born, Cain, is stressed (Gn. 4 2),³⁹ and after Abel is killed, Seth is born in his stead (Gn. 4 25). Then there are the two sons of Lemech and Ada: Jabal is the first-born and Jubal is definitely labeled "his brother" (Gn. 4 21). Finally there are the children of Lemech and Zillah, who are given as Tubal-cain "and the sister of Tubal-cain, Naamah" (Gn. 4 22). In all three cases, the second child is referred to *qua* brother or sister of the first-born. In postdiluvian times, patronymic names are the rule, though fratronymic names make an occasional appearance.⁴⁰ Though the prediluvian evidence is too meagre to warrant definite conclusions, it suggests that fratriarchal organization was more widespread in a very remote antiquity, pictured as before the Flood, than it was in later historic times.

It is unlikely that an exclusive fratriarchy for any period is reflected in the Bible. All the fratriarchal elements in the Old Testament seem to be developments within patriarchy.

³⁷ As shown by the words of Judah: צדקה ממני (Gn. 38 26).

³⁸ I have referred to the literature on the Assyrian, Hittite and Elamite levirates in *Revue Biblique*, XLIV, 1935, p. 37. The fullest treatment and bibliography are given by Mittelman, *Der altisraelitische Levirat*, Leiden, 1934.

³⁹ וחסף ללדת אחיהיו אדהבל.

⁴⁰ Combined fratronymic and patronymic names are found now and then: "Basemath daughter of Ishmael sister of Nebaioth" (Gn. 36 3), "Mahalath daughter of Ishmael, Abraham's son, sister of Nebaioth" (Gn. 28 9), "Rebekah daughter of Bethuel . . . sister of Laban" (Gn. 25 20) and "Ahijah son of Ahitub brother of Ichabod" (I Sam. 14 3).

The Aramaic Incantation in Cuneiform

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The Aramaic Incantation in Cuneiform.

By Cyrus H. Gordon (Baltimore).

1. In 1922 Thureau-Dangin¹ published his copy of a tablet that he described as a "texte religieux en langue sémitique, non accadienne (araméenne?). Temps des Séleucides." Three years later Ebeling ventured a decipherment, in which he identified over a score of words correctly and translated lines 19 and 20 without a mistake. Shortly after, G. R. Driver recognized over a dozen additional words, thus bringing the puzzling text nearer a definitive decipherment. However, he erred, though less than Ebeling, in seeing more "Akkadian influence" (p. 47) than is warranted and in hazarding the suggestion that the "document does not offer us any real or living language, but a mixed jargon artificially devised by some learned dabbler in magic lore" (p. 48). It remained for Jensen to translate the text with a considerable degree of correctness and to point out: „Der Text bietet im allgemeinen reines, auch lautlich korrektes Aramäisch“ (p. 1). Unfortunately, Jensen did not publish his announced study in detail of the significance of the text for the history of the Aramaic language and of certain alleged analogies with magical episodes in the Synoptic Gospels. The latest and longest study is by Bostrup, who had not enough time to make adequate use of Jensen's work.

2. The tablet, which is the only known Aramaic inscription written in cuneiform, is highly important for the history of the Aramaic language, particularly regarding the phonetics. While the orthography points to a Seleucid date for the inscribing of the tablet, the text is quite likely an ancient formula that had been handed down for generations. It is well known that the efficacy of an incantation is often believed to be in direct proportion to its antiquity. The wording may therefore well antedate the Seleucid Era. Nevertheless, we may safely assume that the orthography reflects as closely as possible the pronunciation at the time of writing. For since there had been

¹) The abbreviations in addition to those used officially in this journal are: A—O: Aramaic and Mandaic magical bowls published by Gordon in ArO; texts A—F in vol. VI, 1934, pp. 319—334; G: *ibid.*, pp. 466—474; H—O: IX, 1937, pp. 84—106. — Bostrup (or Bo.): *Aramäische Ritualtexte in Keilschrift*: AcO V, 1927, pp. 257—301. — BT: Babylonian Talmud. — Cowley: *Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford, 1923. — Driver (or Dr.): *An Aramaic Incantation in the Cuneiform Script*: AfO III, 1926, pp. 47—53. — Ebeling (or Eb.): *Ein Beschwörungstext in aramäisch-akkadischer Mischsprache: Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung* II, 2, Berlin, 1925. — Go.: Gordon. — Jastrow: *A Dictionary of the Targumim [etc.]*, London and New York, 1903. — Jensen (or Je.): *Der aramäische Beschwörungstext in spätbabylonischer Keilschrift*, Kommissionsverlag von Adolf Ebel, Marburg, 1926. — Lane: *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863—85. — Maqlû: G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, AfO, Beiheft 2, Berlin, 1937. — MG: Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875. — Montgomery: *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913. — Payne Smith: *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford, 1879—97. — SEA: Seleucid Erechite Aramaic. — SG: Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1925. — Thureau-Dangin: *Tablettes d'Uruk, Textes cunéiformes* (Louvre) VI, 1922, text 58.

The transliteration is conventional except perhaps for š = Hebrew ש. The diacritical marks will be readily understood though it might be worth noting < >, the brackets that enclose scribal omissions; and { }, that enclose scribal plusses. A line over a Hebrew letter indicates that the letter is uncertain.

no tradition of recording Aramaic in cuneiform, there was no older pronunciation for the orthography to hark back to². While it is necessary to bear in mind the incongruity of wording and pronunciation, I shall refer to the dialect as Seleucid Erechite Aramaic (SEA). This dialect was hardly limited to Erech (= Uruk = Warka) but we are not in a position to say whether it was typical of Babylonia.

3. The many major disagreements among the translations offered show the need of a new study³. I became interested in the inscription while working on the Aramaic incantation bowls of Sassanian Babylonia. Then two of Professor J. N. Epstein's interpretations⁴ reached me through Dr. H. L. Ginsberg, who had made a sound observation of his own⁵. After preparing my study of the tablet, I discussed it in detail with Dr. Ginsberg, whose expert criticism and pointed suggestions were very valuable⁶. Although parts of the text are still obscure, enough is clear to make possible an improved translation and a sounder linguistic description than was hitherto available.

4. The following transliteration is according to Thureau-Dangin's system:

(1) *na-šá-a-a-tú ki-ṭa-ri mi-in ig-ga-ri* (2) *[a]ḥ-ḥu:*⁷ *[š]á-ti-iq mi-in si-ip-pa-a di-a-ba-ba-*⁸ (3) *[a]ḥ-ḥi-te-e ti-ḥu-ú-tú li-iš-šá-ni-* (4) *ḥa-al-li-tú al ba-a-a ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni* (5) *pa-tu-ú-ri a-si-ir*⁹ *li-iš-šá-an : ag-gan-nu* (6) *ma-zi-ga-' mi-ir-ra-' : ma-aḥ-zi-ia-' di-* (7) *ḥa-za-ú-ni-' ba-a-a ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni šá-ti-iq* (8) *pa-tu-ú-ru a-s[i]-{še}*¹⁰ *ir li-iš-šá-ni it-ka-pi-* (9) *ag-gan-nu ma-zi-ga-' mi-ir-ra-' it-ta-ši-da-at* (10) *a-na-' za-ki-it ú-ma-' a-[n]a-' za-ka-a-a ba/ma-a-a[-tu?]* (11) *qu-da-am ra-[a]b-ra-bi-e ú-ma-' [d]i-da-di-e* (12) *n[i-še]-e u ga-[a]b-ri-e : šù(m)-g[i] ú-ma-' ka-niš-á-a-[i-i]* (13) *ta-r[a]-ḥa ú-ma-' [i]a-a-ti-ib-a-a-'i-i* (14) *qu-da-am pi-la-nu*¹¹ *mi-in kul ul-la-* (15) *ra-aḥ-bi ? [. . . . t]e-r[u-d]i : ḥa-as-si-ir-ta-a ši-l[a-mi-']* (16) *ḥa-gi-*

² Though I consider Rosenthal's nomenclature misleading (he describes the language as „nicht weit von Altaramäisch“; cf. §§ 71, 72 below), I agree with his observation that the tablet represents a spoken rather than literary language; see *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften*, MVAG XLI, 1, Leipzig, 1936, p. 104.

³ The reader should consult the articles of my predecessors, for considerations of space keep me from listing all the divergent readings and interpretations.

⁴ viz., *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7) “adversary” and *ma-aḥ-zi-ia-' di-' ḥa-za-ú-ni-* (6—7) “when they saw me.” I have not been in direct communication with Professor Epstein regarding these important identifications and so I do not know how he arrived at them. However, the following passages suffice to establish their correctness: מַמְלִי מִלִּי (BT, *Qiddušin*, p. 50 a) “adversaries”; and מִדְּוִיָּא דְּהִיּוּן כִּד “when they saw me” (both passages are in Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris, 1898, pp. 233, 236).

⁵ It is a pleasure to acknowledge Dr. Ginsberg's priority in recognizing that *pi-la-* (22) is feminine.

⁶ I am also indebted to my colleagues, Professor Albright and Mr. A. Sachs, for reading the first draft of this article and for their helpful comments.

⁷ The colon represents the two wedges that occasionally serve as a divider.

⁸ Dialectal (cf. §§ 69, 72) for דִּי עַל כַּבָּא (the latter occurs in a Palmyrene inscription published by Cantineau, *Syria* XVII, 1936, p. 274). For the dialectal form, cf. אַבְבַּ בִּיּוּנִי .. אַבְבַּ הַנוֹאֲרָא (BT, *Sabbath*, p. 32 a) “at the door of shops . . . at the door of prisons.”

⁹ This active participle is in the absolute (not construct!) state followed by an accusative (not genitive!) as indicated by the opening words of the next line, which are patently in the same construction and which cannot be mistaken because of the fem. gender of the participle. Cf. מַחֲשָׁבָא נַפְשָׁא עֵינִין וּמַפְחָא נַפְשָׁא (B : 7; cf. Targum Onkelos, Leviticus 26 : 16 and Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Peshitta, Deuteronomy 28 : 65). Margolis (*Manual of Aramaic Language*, Munich, 1910, § 44 c, p. 64) misunderstands this construction.

¹⁰ i. e., the first part of LI anticipated by the scribe.

¹¹ There are traces of a supralinear sign.

¹⁶) SEA preserves the vocalization of the old form found in the Elephantine papyri (see Cowley, p. 278 b) and in the Ktīb of וְיִשְׁרָאֵל (Ezra 4:12). In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (as in the Qrē of Ezra 4:12) the form is בִּישׁ (*biš* < *be'iš*); cf. Jastrow, p. 167.

6.

Translation.

(1) "I brought a knot from (the) roof (2) of [w]ood. [I], (going) silent(ly) from the threshold¹⁷ which is at the door, (3) put it under my tongue. (4) I entered upon¹⁸ the house of (the) adversary, (5) the table of him who ties (the) tongue (and) the bowl (6) of her who mixes poison. When (7) they saw me, the house of (the) adversary became silent, (8) the table of him who ties (the) tongue was upset (and) (9) (the contents of) the bowl of her who mixes poison (were) spilled. (10) I won and I (remain) victorious! ?[. . .] (11) in the presence of a[d]ults and [s]ucklings¹⁹, (12) w[ome]n and m[e]n, (the) marke[t] and those assembled [therein]; (13) (the) gate and thos[e] sitting therein; (14) in the presence of so-and-so, from every ill. (15) ?[.]?. Oh lacking woman, be [whole]! (16) Oh lame woman, run, find companions (f.)! (17) Oh superabun[d]ant woman (and) deficient woman, rise! (18) Speak, (oh) mad man! Rise, (oh) deaf-and-dumb!

"(19) Who rages? Who is maddened? (20) Who wears the garb of raging[s] (21) (with) fire in his mouth, leeches[s] u[nder his] tongue? (22) So-and-so (m.) son of so-and-so (f.) (23) rages and is maddened and (24) wears the garb of ragings (with) fire in [his] mo[uth] (25) and leeches under his tongue. (26) I am competent (to cope with) troubles (/his trouble); begetting ?[. . . .]. (27, rev.) I took (the) knot from ?[. . . .] (28) pain[ing] him from (/more than)²⁰ ?[. . . .]. (29) I entered upon so-and-so *that* n[ot]]. (30) I stripped him of the garb of hi[s] r[a]ging[s]. (31) [I] clad him with the garb of h[is] w[el]l-being²¹. (32) I took (the) fire from [his] mouth (33) and (the) leeches f[ro]m under [his] tongue. (34) My good things from his mo[u]th [and] (35) my bad things from hi[s] a[r]se [.] (36) in the presence of adults and [s]u[cklings], (37) women and men [(the) market] an[d] those assembled therein; (38) (the) gate and those s[i]tt[i]ng [th]erein (39) and in the presence of s[o-and-so] fro[m] ever[y] ill. (40) [.]. Oh l[a]cking wo[man, be whole]! (41) Oh l[a]me w[o]man, run, find companion[s] (f.)! (42) Oh superabundant woman (and) deficient woman, rise! (43) Speak, oh mad man! Rise, oh deaf-and-dumb!"

Commentary.

7. Our tablet comes from a time when magic and medicine, therapy and ritual overlapped and were often identical. The practitioner was both physician and sorcerer. The tablet is a prescription for curing patients afflicted with insanity, deaf-and-dumbness (18, 43) and convulsions (23). It is not for a particular patient but is instead a sort of text-book for the practitioner, enabling him to correlate the symptoms and administer the cure. The patient's name is to be supplied for "so-and-so" in lines 14, 22, 29. The essential elements of magic are clearly discernable; to wit, (a) the spell or formula recited (passim), (b) the rites or actions accompanying the recitation of the formula (passim) and (c) the competence of the practitioner (10, 26).

¹⁷) or "more silent than the threshold."

¹⁸) For the preposition על after עלל, cf. על-אריך (Daniel 2 : 24; cf. Cowley 15 : 15).

¹⁹) Literally "they of breasts." It is permissible to extend the meaning to "children" even as Cowley (40 : 3) renders ינקיא "children." Cf. Joel 2 : 16.

²⁰) or "pains (/ his pain) from (/ worse than)."

²¹) Possibly from the root שלם but not from the ordinary noun שלם. Regardless of the derivation, the context fixes the meaning. שליא would fit well but MA must be preceded by a vowel to have the value *ya* (§§ 17, 32).

8. The practitioner commences by declaring that he has equipped himself with a magic knot (1). After stealing silently across the threshold (2), he places the knot under his tongue (3). Three things then figure in the praxis; namely, (a) the adversary's house, (b) the tongue-tier's table and (c) the bowl of the woman who mixes poison. The adversary is the one who initiated the black-magic that has injured the patient and who has employed as magical technicians the man who ties tongues and the woman who concocts poisons. In order to undo the damage, the practitioner must check their respective instruments. Accordingly, he enters the adversary's house, where the tongue-tier's table and the mixer's bowl are (4—6). As soon as they see the practitioner, the house becomes silent, the table is upset, the contents of the bowl are spilled (6—9) and the spell is broken (10). The patient is now safe from the mischief of people of either sex and of any age or description (11—14). Undesirables such as the needy or lame woman, who are otherwise apt to bewitch, are satisfied and cured respectively and ordered away to their friends (15—16). The patient, now healed, is directed to rise and speak (18).

9. At this juncture the scribe draws a line across the tablet, for lines 1—18 constitute a complete incantation. The rest of the text is another incantation using a different rite. This combination of therapeutics corresponds to what physicians dub a "shotgun prescription", the rationale being: if one agent fails, the other will be effective.

10. The second incantation opens with an inquiry as to who is agitated and maddened (19) and wears the garb of ragings (20) and has fire in his mouth and leeches under his tongue (21). The answer is that the patient is suffering from all these afflictions (22—25). The practitioner then proclaims himself competent to effect the cure (26). He declares he has taken a magic knot (27), encountered the patient (29), stripped him of the garb of ragings (30), clad him with the garb of well-being (31), taken fire out of his mouth (32) and leeches from under his tongue (33)²², immunizing him against every ill (39) brought on by people of either sex (37) and of any age (36) or description (37—38). Again the needy and lame women are satisfied and cured respectively and ordered off to their companions (40—41) and the healed patient is directed to speak and rise (43).

11. The tablet stands in time between the earlier Akkadian magical texts such as Maqlû and Šurpu (Assurbanipal's copies have come down to us), and the later magical Aramaic bowls of Sassanian Babylonia.

12. Like Maqlû (2:13; 3:35; 6:48, 97) and Šurpu (2:186; 4:56, 65; 5/6:184) our tablet is a general prescription, in which the name of the patient is to be filled in wherever the indefinite pronoun "so-and-so (son of so-and-so)" appears. (However, in the Akkadian texts the parent is the father while in our tablet the mother's name is called for.) Magic knots are frequently mentioned in Akkadian magic (see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II, 1925, pp. 202, 209, n. 12); compare *qu-û im-ta-na-lu-û pt-ia* (Maqlû 1:9) "my mouth is filled with knots" with the knot under the tongue, in line 3.

13. The most interesting analogy with the Aramaic bowls is the matronymic designation of the client (cf. note to A:1), the principle being *mater certa, pater incertus*. Our tablet throws this usage back from Sassanian to Seleucid times in Babylonia. Again magic knots appear and they are called *qitrîn* (Montgomery 7:13, 28:5 and Gordon E:2 and the parallels listed with the latter), the same word as in the tablet (3, 27). The *'iggâr* (1) is possibly to be compared with *bar 'iggârâ*, a kind of demon figuring in the bowls (see Jensen, p. 1; Gordon, *ArO* IX, 1937, p. 85), though the relationship is not completely clear. Protection from spells cast by either man or woman (12, 37) is specified in the bowls (H:1; cf. M:14—15 and the parallels listed with it)²³. The special precaution against the poor (15—17, 40—42) is approximated in two Mandaean bowls: **אִנָּה הָאִסְמִתָּיָה דְּהוֹסְרָאנָה** (N:14 and the duplicate reproduced with it) "the envious eye of poverty". Similarly the ill will of the lame (16, 41) is matched by the reference to *bar mûmâ* (K:7—8) "the cripple". Line 10 may prove to be an anticipation of the Mandaean formula regarding salvation; viz. **חַיִּיתָ וְאִכִּין** "life is victorious" (found in bowl O:13 and passim in Mandaean literature).

²²) While the translation of lines 34 and 35 offers no difficulty, the rite alluded to is obscure. Perhaps a cathartic was administered.

²³) Also passim in Akkadian texts.

14. While some of the above analogies are of value for the history of magic in Babylonia, they are not nearly so striking as the divergences that might be pointed out. For example, the bowls are for definite clients who are regularly named. More significant is the difference of terminology. The tablet has *si-ip-pa-a* (2) "threshold" where the bowls have **איסקופתא** (Montgomery, p. 282 b; Gordon D:3, 7, 15) and *ag-gan-nu* (5, 9) where the bowls have **כסא** (Montgomery, p. 291 b; Gordon M:21). Furthermore, there is an important, general difference between the tablet, on the one hand, and the Akkadian texts and the Aramaic bowls, on the other. The latter are full of invocations and references to deities, angels and demons and are replete with sundry religious features. The SEA tablet is remarkable in that neither gods nor demons are named, nor is there any religious element.

15. There are Old Testament parallels to the sympathetic elimination of physical and mental distress by removing the garb of trouble and the establishment of health by donning the garb of well-being; see Jirku, *Zur magischen Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel*: ZAW XXXVII, 1917/18, pp. 109—125 and Bostrup, pp. 294 f.

16. The closest parallel is in the Synoptic Gospels: A father brings his son, who is possessed by a demon, to Jesus. The demon has caused deaf-and-dumbness and violent convulsions marked by falling, contortions, foaming at the mouth and gnashing of the teeth (Mark 9:17—27, cf. Mat. 17:15—18, Luke 9:38—42). But, while the cases are virtually the same, the therapy differs. Jensen (p. 1) saw the New Testament parallel but erred in pushing the analogy too far. Reading *ha-zi-ir-ta-*' (16, cf. 41) "sow", he compared the episode of Jesus exorcizing the demons into a herd of swine (Mat. 8:31—32). An examination of Thureau-Dangin's splendid copy will show that Bostrup is right in identifying the second sign of the word as GI (cf. 23) and rejecting ZI (cf. 24).

Orthography.

17. The script is the Babylonian cuneiform of the Seleucid period. Only syllabic values occur (Bostrup's ideographic reading in line 28 is improbable). The chief difficulty is the identity of MA and BA and of KI and DI (passim). MA has the value *wa* in *u-ma-*' (10 etc.) = *wa* "and"; cf. ŠUM (12), pronounced *šuy/šú* (see § 32).

18. In Late Babylonian, final, unaccented, short vowels (such as case endings) were no longer pronounced even though they were written. The scribe follows this usage and hence short vocalic endings (*u*, *i* and, in a unique instance [13], *a*) in the orthography have zero phonetic value. The following orthographic variants serve as illustrations: *pa-tu-u-ri* (5) = *pa-tu-u-ru* (8); *li-iš-ša-ni* (8) = *li-iš-ša-an* (5); *ta-r[a]-ha* (13) = *ta-ra-ḫi* (38); *la-bi-šu* (24) = *la-bi-iš* (20).

19. In every instance (passim) final *-ē* is distinguished from *-i*. Accordingly, *li-iš-ša-ni-*' (3) is translated "my tongue" as against *liš-ša-ni-e* (25) "his tongue". However, the quality of medial *-ē* (?) is not so indicated in *qu-u-mi-ni* (17, 42) = Syriac *qūmēn*.

20. When final vowels are pronounced, either the 'sign is appended or the vowel in question is repeated; e.g., *ri-ḫu-ti-*' *áš-ka-ḫi-i* (16) or *ri-ḫu-ti-i áš-ka-ḫi-i* (41), *ka-ša-ta-*' (17) or *ka-ša-ta-a* (42). This holds for final short vowels as well as long: *u-ma-*' (10 etc.), *ba-*' (21, 24). In the case of *-ē*, E always follows (never '): *[a]ḫ-ḫi-te-e* (3), *ni-še-e* (37) etc.

21. Long medial *-ō-* and *-ū-* are alike represented by *xu-ū* or *xu-ux*: *pa-tu-u-ru* (8) = *pátór*; *ti-ḫu-u-tu* (3) = cf. **תִּיחֻתּ**; *qu-u-mi-ni* (17) = *qūmt(ē)n*, *qu-um* (18, 43) = *qūm*.

22. Long medial *-ā-* is not usually differentiated from short *a*: (*dī-a-*)*ba-ba-*' (2) = *bábā*; *pa-tu-u-ri* (5) = *pátór*; *pi-la-nu* (14) — cf. **פִּלְנִי**; *ra-gi-zu* (19, 23) = *rágiz*; *la-bi-iš* (20) = *lābiš*; *ša-ti-e* (18, 43) = *šātē*; *ša-[t]e-e* (35) = *šātē* etc.; exceptions: *[i]a-a-ti-ib-a-a-i-i* (13, cf. 38) = *īātibaiṭ*, *ia-a-li-di* (26) = *īalid*.

23. The length of medial *-t-* is indicated only in *ha-la-ki-i-ni* (33). It is ignored in *qu-u-mi-ni* (17) and *ha-ki-mi* (26).

24. Vocal *šewa* appears as *i* (§ 35).

25. The diphthong *ai* is written (*xa-*)*a-a*: *na-ša-a-a-tu* (1, 27, 32), *ba-a-a* (4, 7), *ka-niš-a-a-['i-i]* (12), *[i]a-a-ti-ib-a-a-i-i* (13, cf. 38) etc.; cf. *āi* in *za-ka-a-a* (10).

26. Consonants are generally written correctly within the limitations of the script. Apparent deviations are rather phonetic than orthographic.

27. Initial **š** (as in Akkadian) is not represented in the orthography: *a-si-ir* (5, 8), *ag-gan-nu* (5, 9), *a-na'* (10, 26), *iš-šá'* (21), *a-ma-ár* (18, 43), *úš-làh-te-e* (30), [*a*] *l-bi-iš-te-e* (31). However, medial **š** is rendered by the 'sign: *bi-i-šá-ti-ia* (35).

28. **ḫ** is written **ḫ**: *ri-ḫu-ti'* (16, cf. 41).

29. **ʿ** standing for Semitic ' happens to be limited to the initial position in this tablet, where it is not represented in the script: *al* (4, 29) cf. Arabic 'alá, and probably *ul-la'* (14) cf. Arabic 'ullat^{un}.

30. Aramaic **ʿ** going back to Semitic *ǵ* is written **ḫ**: *ḫa-al-li-tu* (4, 29) cf. Arabic *galla*; *ta-ra-ḫi* (38, cf. 13) cf. Ras Shamra *tgr* (e.g. Virolleaud, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, 1936, p. 241 b [transliterated *šgr*]).

31. If the problematic [*a*] **ḫ-hu**²⁴ (2) is the word for "wood" (Semitic **ḏ* > old Aramaic **עק** > later Aramaic **עק**), it would follow that Aramaic **ʿ** corresponding to Arabic *ḏ* appears as **ḫ** orthographically.

32. Since initial *u-* had been dropped in contemporary Babylonian, **Ū** (*u* being the kindred labial vowel) is prefixed to indicate the pronunciation of *ú-ma'* (10 etc.) as *u.u*. Or, to state the matter differently, **Ū** is needed if MA is to have the value *u.a*, because *u* in contemporary Babylonian could only appear post-vocally (orthographically represented as *m*).

33. **š** (as well as **š'**) is written **š**: *na-šá-a-a-tú* (1, 27, 32) = **נשאית**, *šá-am-lat* (20, 24, 30, 31) = **שמלת**.

34. Gemination is usually indicated: *ig-ga-ri* (1), *si-ip-pa-a* (2), *li-iš-šá-an*²⁵ (5 etc.), *ḫa-al-li-tú* (4 etc.), *ag-gan-nu* (5, 9; cf. § 46), *it-ta-ši-da-at* (9), *ḫa-as-si-ir-ta-a* (15, 40), *mi-it-ra-ag-ga-zu* (19, 23), *pu-um-mi-e* (21, 34), *iš-šá'* (21, 24, 32). (For gemination peculiar to SEA, see § 46. For omission of gemination, see § 67.)

Phonology.

35. Short vowels in unaccented, open syllables are often, if not usually, retained in SEA. Note, for example, that the first vowels (dropped in classical Aramaic) in the following words are the correct, original vowels: *ta-ra-ḫi* (38) — cf. **תַרְחֵ** (**תַרְחֵא**), *ki-ta-ri* (1, 27) — cf. **קִטַר** (**קִטַרְא**), *qu-da-am* (11 etc.) — cf. **קָדַם** (as in Syriac) < *quddam*^{25a}. In *ri-ḫu-ti'* (16, cf. 41), which goes back to **ruḫuṭi* (and perhaps in *pi-la-nu*, 14 etc., corresponding to Arabic *fulān^{un}*), *i* stands for vocal *šewa*. In the following, *i* is either the full vowel or not far from it, for the syncopated, classical Aramaic forms could be written in cuneiform had the scribe so intended: *ma-zi-ga'* (6, 9) — cf. **מַזִיגָא**, [*i*] *a-ti-ib-a-a'-i-i* (13) — cf. **יַתִיבִי**, *it-ta-ši-da-at* (9) — cf. **אַתְשֶדַת**. The following are cases where *a* is dropped in the classical dialects but preserved in SEA and where the apocopated forms could be written in cuneiform: *ḫa-la-ki-i-ni* (33) — cf. **עֲלִקִין**, *ḫa-ba-ra-an* (16, 41) — cf. **חַבְרָן**, *ru-ga-zi-e* (24) — cf. **רִגְזִי**. Yet even with *a*²⁶ there is the beginning of the tendency toward elimination in unaccented, open syllables; note the old form *ga-ba-ri-e* (37) beside the later *ga-[a]b-ri-e* (12) = **גַבְרִי**.

²⁴) I accept Thureau-Dangin's (see Driver, p. 49) restoration of the first sign. My objection to [*r*] *a-hu* (so all my predecessors) is not only epigraphical but also lexical. For, while **רע** "bad" occurs, although rarely, beside **באיש** in official Aramaic (see Cowley, p. 216, for Ahiqar 113), **רע** is not idiomatic in Babylonian Aramaic, where **ביש** (< **באיש**) is regularly employed (cf. line 35); see Jastrow, p. 1485 a, where every example of **רע** is Hebrew (none Aramaic!). It is interesting to note the gemination in [*a*] *ḫ-hu*. Mr. Sachs compares the Akkadian correspondent *i(š)su*, where the *š* is sometimes doubled in the orthography.

²⁵) Though the Hebrew (**לִשׁוֹן**) and Arabic (*lisán^{un}*) cognates have no gemination, the Aramaic has; e.g., **לִשְׁשׁוֹן** (Daniel 3:29). The difference in vowels between the Hebrew and Arabic is problematic. Possibly **לִשְׁשׁוֹן** "tongue" is influenced by the formation of **גֵּרְוִין** "throat," while the Arabic *ǧirán^{un}* "fore part of the neck" follows the pattern of *lisán^{un}* "tongue". ^{25a}) Cf. **קָדַם** (Daniel 2:10 etc.).

²⁶) In Hebrew *a* is more stable than *i* or *u* in open syllables immediately before the accent; cf. **יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ** (יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ), **יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ** (יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ), **יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ** (יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ). The non-specialist in North-Semitic may understand the problem better

36. As in the other dialects, $i > a$ before laryngals and r in the following: *š-làh-te-e* (30). *š-ka-ḥi-i* (16, cf. 41) and *ba-ri* (22); exception: *a-si-ir* (5, 8). (The change is not expected in *mi-ir-ra-*' (6, 9) with double r ; cf. Syriac *merīd*.)

37. There are no instances of $a > e$, not even before $š$ followed by another consonant: *š-ka-ḥi-i* (16, cf. 41). *š-làh-te-e* (30); contrast Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, 1880, § 45. pp. 32 f.

38. The assimilation of a to u before b does not take place in *ga-[a]b-ri-e* (12); contrast *גברין* (Daniel 3:8, 24).

39. The shift of i/i to $e/ē$ is not attested (except in the common Aramaic forms of the 3 m. s. pronominal suffix, §§ 53, 54; see Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik* I, § 105 ζ, p. 312: *mi-in* (1 etc.) against Syr. *men*, *la-bi-iš* (20) against *לביש*, *iš-sá-*' (21) against *אשא*, *mi-ir-ra-*' (6, 9) against *merīd*. Though the script allows no proof, we may likewise assume that the corresponding shift of $u/ū$ to $o/ō$ has not taken place in SEA (except perhaps in *pa-tu-ū-ri* (5, cf. 8) = *pátōr*, where it is possibly due to partial progressive assimilation to the d).

40. Unstressed, long, final vowels are retained (contrast Syriac and Mandaic): *li-iš-sá-ni-*' (3). *ri-ḥu-li-*' *š-ka-ḥi-i* (16, cf. 41).

41. The diphthongs *aī* and *au* are not reduced; e. g., the construct noun *ba-a-a* (4, 7; cf. 12, 13, 38) and *ḥa-za-ū-ni-*'²⁷ (7).

42. Semitic d has become $ḏ$; e. g. *ḏi-*' (6) = *ד* (as against *ד* in the earlier inscriptions such as those from Zenjirli; also usually in the Elephantine papyri; for the complicated situation in Mandaic, see MG, p. 43).

43. There is no trace of the spirantization of b , g , d , k , p or t after vowels. If spirantization had taken place, we should expect to find the palatals in *za-ki-it* (10) and *ma-zi-ga-*' (6, 9) represented as *ḥ*.

44. Since h is reproduced as *ḥ* (§ 28), it follows that h of the pronominal suffix is elided in [*i*]-*a-a-ti-ib-a-a-i-i* (13, cf. 38), *r[u]-ga-z[a]-a-a-i-i* (30), *š[a]l-ma-a-a-i-i* (31). This h has quiesced, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, in: *pu-um!-mi-e* (21, cf. 34), *liš-sá-ni-e* (25).

45. Both $ḥ$ and r can be geminated in SEA to judge from [*a*]-*ḥ-ḥi-te-e* (3), where $nḥ$ has become *ḥḥ*, and *mi-ir-ra-*' (6, 9), where the double r of the root is reproduced.

46. Under the accent, final n is often geminated and the preceding vowel, if long, is probably shortened compensatorily: *mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7), *ag-gan-nu* (5, 9), *man-nu* (19, 20), *ḥa-la-ki-in-ni* (25, cf. 21) beside *ḥa-la-ki-i-ni* (33), *mi-in-ni* (34) alongside *mi-in* (1, 2, 14, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35). Because n is a continuant, it lends itself to this secondary doubling. The preponderance of the ungeminated *mi-in* is due to the fact that prepositions are nearly always proclitic and hence are unaccented.

47. The progressive assimilation of t' to tt has taken place in *it-ta-ši-da-at* (9) as in the other dialects.

48. The emphatic q is dissimilated to k owing to the presence of $š$ in *ka-ša-ta-*' (17, cf. 42). This assimilation is attested as early as the Bar-RKB inscription: *כיצא* (for *קיצא*), see Cooke 63:19, and note also *וכרצי* (for *וקרצי*) in the Carpentras stele, see Cooke 75:2. The same dissimilation of q to k has probably taken place in *ki-ṭa-ri* (1, 27) on account of the $ṭ$;

if he bears in mind that as a rule short vowels in unaccented, open syllables are dropped in Aramaic, whereas in Hebrew they are usually retained in open syllables immediately before the accent and reduced to šewa in open syllables that are neither accented nor immediately before the accent. Furthermore, if two open syllables precede the accent in Aramaic, only the vowel of the second is dropped (reckoning from the beginning of the word); but, under the same conditions in Hebrew, as a rule only the vowel of the first becomes šewa.

²⁷ I take the form to be *חזאי* rather than *חזאי* (cf. Syriac) for if the latter were intended, the $š$ would be indicated in the orthography; cf. § 27. Without the suffix the form is *hazay* in SEA (cf. Syriac), which becomes *ḥazō* in Old Testament Aramaic; see Bauer-Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Halle, 1928, p. 161.

cf. יכטלוך for יקטלוך in the first Nerab inscription, see Cooke 64:11. Perhaps the same has occurred in *ḥa-la-ki-i-ni* (33) because of the *ḡ*. However, in as much as KI frequently has the value *qī*, the last two examples remain uncertain.

49. The *ṣ*'s going back to *ṣ*, *ḡ* and perhaps *ḏ* are differentiated in SEA; see §§ 29–31. While the orthography allows no demonstration, it is safe to assume that *ḥ* and *ḫ* are still distinguished.

50. *š* has not become *s* (as happened in the later dialects), for it is written *š* (§ 33).

51. The following table summarizes the orthographic representations of selected consonants together with their probable pronunciation in SEA:

Orthographic Representations					Phonetic Values
Arabic	Hebrew	Old Aramaic	Later Aramaic	SEA	in SEA
'	א	א	א	omitted initially; 'medially.	'
.	ע	ע	ע	omitted (but only initial position occurs)	.
<i>ḡ</i>	ע	ע	ע	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>
<i>h</i>	ה	ה	ה	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>ḥ</i>	ח	ח	ח	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>
<i>ḫ</i>	ח	ח	ח	<i>ḫ</i>	<i>ḫ</i>
<i>ḏ</i>	צ	ק	ע	<i>ḏ</i> (?)	?
<i>š</i>	ש	ש	ם	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>
<i>s</i>	ש	ש	ש	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>u</i>	ו	ו	ו	<i>m</i>	<i>u</i>

Morphology.

52. Of the independent personal pronouns only *a-na-*' (10, 26) is attested.

53. The (a) 1 s. and (b) 3 m. s. of the possessive suffixes occur: (a) *li-š-šá-ni-*' (3) and the Akkadianizing *ṭa-ba-ti-ia* (34) and *bi-i-šá-ti-ia*²⁸ (35); (b) *pu-um!-mi-e* (21, cf. 34), *liš-šá-ni-e* (25) and with pl. nouns: [*i*] *a-a-ti-ib-a-a-i-i* (13, cf. 38), *r[u]-ga-z[a]-<a>-a-i-i* (30); *š[a]l-ma-a-a'-[i-i]* (31).

54. Objective suffixes. (a) 1 s.: *ḥa-za-ú-ni-*' (7); (b) 3 m. s.: [*a*] *ḥ-ḫi-te-e* (3), *áš-làḫ-te-e* (30), [*a*] *l-bi-iš-te-e* (31).

55. The relative pronoun is *di-*' (6). When it is prefixed to nouns it is written *di-di-a-ba-ba-*' (2), [*d*] *i-da-di-e* (11).

56. Interrogative pronoun "who?": *man-nu* (19, 20), cf. § 46.

57. The indefinite pronoun "so-and-so" is m. *pi-la-nu* (14, 22), f. *pi-la-*' (22). This f. is unique, for the normal Aramaic is פלניית. It is possible to explain *pi-la-*' as the SEA correspondent of Arabic *fulat*^u (f. s. of *ful*^u, see Lane, p. 2433c)²⁹.

58. The identification of *kul* (14, cf. 39) "all" is not entirely certain since it is epigraphically possible to read *nu*:-.

²⁸) The Akkadianization is orthographic, for the last vowel was not pronounced. For the loss of final, unaccented, short vowels in Late Babylonian see § 18 and Ungnad, *Zur Aussprache des Spätbabylonischen*: MAOG IV, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 222 ff. Ungnad bases his conclusions on Greek transliterations of Late Babylonian. Professor Albright calls my attention to the fact that Ungnad's deductions are further illustrated by a similar transliterated text published by Schileico, *Ein babylonischer Weih-text in griechischer Schrift*: Afo V, 1928, pp. 11–13. See also Rimalt, Afo IX, pp. 124 f.

²⁹) So rather than by comparing the correspondence of diptotic f. -*d* to m. -*an* in Arabic; see Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1896, I, 295 a, p. 184. This -*d* is written with *yā* and hence goes back to *-*ai*.

59. The following table summarizes the inflection of the noun with reference to state, gender and number. Bracketed forms do not occur in the tablet.

	absolute	construct	emphatic
m. s.	—	—	-ā
f. s.	-ā	-at	-tā
m. pl.	-īn, -inn	[-aī]	-ē
f. pl.	-ān	[-āt]	[-ātā]

60. The following examples do not include the participles, the infinitive and the pronouns discussed elsewhere:

m. s. abs.: *ki-ta-ri* (1, 27), *ig-ga-ri* (1), *li-iš-šā-an* (5, cf. 8), *ḥa-ri-iš*³⁰ (18, 43), *šum-q[ī]* (12), *ta-ra-ḥi* (38, cf. 13); tertiae *ī*: *za-ka-a-a* (10), *šā-ti-e*³¹ (18, 43).

m. s. const.: *pa-tu-ū-ri* (5, cf. 8); cf. f. (sic) *ag-gan-nu* (5, 9). Note the absence of final *t* in *ba-a-a* (4, 7) as very often in Jewish Babylonian, but only in the absolute state in other dialects. The loss of the *t* is first witnessed in the Bar-RKB inscription where (as in Cowley 3:18), however, it is abs. (Cooke 63:16; const. is regularly בִּית, see lines 7, 12, 17, 18, 19).

m. s. emph.: *si-ip-pa-a* (2), *di-a-ba-ba'* (2), *ma-aḥ-zi-ia'* (6).

f. s. abs.: *mi-ir-ra'* (6, 9), *ul-la'* (14), *iš-šā'* (21, 24, 32).

f. s. const.: *šā-am-lat* (20, 24, 30, 31).

f. s. emph.: *ḥa-as-si-ir-ta-a* (15), *ḥa-gi-ir-ta'* (16, cf. 41), *ka-ša-ta'* (17, cf. 42), *ia-ti-ir-ta'* (42, cf. 17) (all examples vocative).

m. pl. abs.: *ḥa-la-ki-i-ni* (33), *ḥa-la-ki-in-ni* (25, cf. 21), *mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7).

m. pl. emph.: *ra-[a]b-ra-bi-e* (11, cf. 36), *ga-ba-ri-e* (37, cf. 12), *[d]i-da-di-e* (11). This is the earliest known occurrence of -ē as the m. pl. emph. suffix.

f. pl. abs.: *ḥa-ba-ra-an* (16).

61. The absolute is extended peculiarly in SEA. Now in BT, as in Syriac, the emphatic has largely displaced the absolute. Thus it may be said that the retention of the absolute is in general an indication of antiquity in Aramaic. However, in SEA the absolute is found not only where the sense is indefinite but even in places where it is definite; e. g., *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni* (7), *a-si-ir li-iš-šā-ni* (8), *ma-zi-ga'* (f.) *mi-ir-ra'* (f.) (9), *šā-ti-e* and *ḥa-ri-iš* (43). Aside from other obvious considerations the emphatic is expected because the nouns have already been mentioned in lines 4—6 and 18. The simplest explanation is that the scribe is influenced by Akkadian, which has no emphatic state.

62. Note the f. s. without f. ending: *ag-gan-nu* (9) with verb in f. (*it-ta-ši-da-at*); so also in Syriac, see SG, § 105, p. 43.

63. F. pl. with m. pl. ending: *mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7), *ni-še-e* (37, cf. 12) as in the other dialects.

64. Nouns of the *qaṭl*, *qiṭl* and *quṭl* types have the plurals *qaṭal*, *qiṭal*, *quṭal* respectively³²; e. g., *ru-ga-zi-e* (24), in later Aramaic רִגְזִי; and, unless we are dealing with a *qaṭal* noun, *ḥa-la-ki-i-ni* (33), whose singular is found in Aramaic and Syriac, viz., עֲלִקָא. Particularly instructive is the younger form *ga-[a]b-ri-e* (12) beside *ga-ba-ri-e* (37), showing that the tablet comes from the times when *qaṭlīn* began to displace *qaṭalīn* (§ 35).

³⁰) The form is *pa'il*; cf. Syriac *ḥaršā*.

³¹) In form *pā'il*, the active participle of the simple conjugation.

³²) This has been inferred from Aramaic and Syriac grammar; see SG, § 123, p. 52. Cf. Hebrew s. מַלְךְ, pl. מַלְכִּים (i. e., s. stem **malk*, pl. stem **malak-*), etc.

65. The unreduplicated pl. *ra-ab-bi-e* (36) occurs alongside the reduplicated *ra-[a]b-ra-bi-e* (11), unless the form in line 36 is to be emended to *ra-ab-(ra)-bi-e*.

66. The anaptyctic (or second) vowel in the m. s. abs. of originally monosyllabic nouns is *a* before laryngals and *r* (as in other dialects, e. g., SG §§ 62, 2; 74; 127): *ta-ra-ḥi* (38, cf. 13), *ki-ṭa-ri* (1, 27). The first (or original) vowel, though lost according to every other known system of vocalization, is often, if not always preserved in SEA (§ 35).

67. Four nouns, whose second radical is doubled according to classical grammar, have no indication of the doubling in SEA: *za-ka-a-a* (10) for *zakkā*, ([d]i-) *da-di-e* (11) for *daddē*, *ia-ti-ir-ta'* (42, cf. 17) for *ṭattirā* (cf. Daniel 2:32), *ḥa-ki-mi* (26) for *ḥakkim* (cf. Daniel 2:12). It is interesting to note that *ḥa-as-si-ir-ta-a* (15, 40), which is of the same formation as the last two examples in classical Aramaic, has the doubling. Regarding *mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7), written with one *l*, see Payne Smith, p. 2118 for the overlapping of *ml'* and *mll*.

68. A classified list of verbal forms follows:

Pa'al (for *peal*, see § 35) perf. 1 s.: (ter. ') *na-šá-a-a-tú* (1, 27, 32), (med. gem.) *ḥa-al-li-tú* (4, 29); 3 pl. (ter. infirm. with suffix): *ḥa-za-ú-ni'* (7). *Pa'il* perf. 1 s.: (ter. infirm.) *za-ki-it* (10); 3 m. s.: *šá-ti-iq* (7). Imperative m. s.: (prim. ') *a-ma-ár* (18, 43), (med. *u*) *qu-um* (18, 43); f. s.: *ri-ḥu-ṭi'* (16, cf. 41), (stative) *ši-l[a-mi']* (15); f. pl.: (med. *u*) *qu-ú-mi-ni* (17, 42). Active part. m. s.: *la-bi-iš* (20, cf. 24), *ra-gi-zu* (19, 23), *a-si-ir* (5), *ia-a-li-di* [. . .] (26); f. s.: *ma-zi-ga'* (6, 9); m. pl. (with suffix): [*i*] *a-a-ti-ib-a-a-i-i* (13, cf. 38). Passive part. m. pl. [with suffix]: *ka-niš-a-a[-'i-i]* (12). Inf. (med. gem. s. with suffix or pl.): *mi-ḥa-áš-še-e* (28).

'*Ap'il* perf. 1 s. (with suffix): [*a*] *l-bi-iš-te-e* (31), *áš-làḥ-te-e* (30). Imperative f. s.: *áš-ka-ḥi-i* (16, cf. 41).

'*Itpa'il* perf. 3 f. s. (prim. '): *it-ta-ši-da-at* (9).

'*Itpa'al* part. m. s.: *mi-it-ra-ag-ga-zu* (23, cf. 19).

69. The following prepositions occur in the tablet: (a) *ba'*³³ (21, 24), treated as a separate word (as occasionally in Ras Shamra tablets); (b) *mi-in* (1, 2, 14, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35), var. *mi-in-ni* (34, cf. § 46); (c) *al* (4, 29), prefixed to noun in (*di*-) *a-ba-ba'* (2); (d) *qu-da-am* (11, 14, 36).

70. The conjunction *ú-ma'* (10 et passim) is treated as a separate word (cf. Ras Shamra tablets and § 69). U in lines 12 and 36 is a scribal lapse into Akkadian. Note the asyndetic vocatives in lines 17, 42.

General and Comparative Observations on SEA.

71. The structural antiquity of SEA among the Aramaic dialects is evident from the consonantal distinctions maintained (§ 51) as well as from the retention of vowels lost in other dialects (§ 35). SEA dates from the time when the tendency to drop short vowels in open, unaccented syllables was first setting in (§ 35). Another unmistakable sign of age is the expression of the genitive relationship according to the old Semitic pattern of "construct + genitive" (4, 5, 6—7, 8, 9, 20, 24, 30, 31) instead of the circumlocution with *d(t)* that characterizes the literary dialects.

72. SEA belongs to the Mesopotamian branch of Aramaic as is shown by the m. pl. emph. suffix *-ē* (as in Syriac, BT and Mandaic). Aside from considerations of provenance, we can safely limit SEA to the Babylonian subdivision of Mesopotamian Aramaic. Highly idiomatic expressions such as *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7) and *ma-aḥ-zi-ia' di' ḥa-za-ú-ni'* (6—7) are otherwise attested only in the BT and in Mandaic respectively (see p. 106, n. 4). Then again the prefixing of the preposition 𐤀𐤁³⁴ (§ 69 c) is very common in BT and Mandaic.

73. The few Akkadianisms are not fundamental. The Akkadianizing use of the absolute for emphatic (§ 61) is but partial (for examples of the emphatic see § 60), the pronominal

³³) Syriac preserves the *a* of *ba* and *ua* (§ 70) before consonants with šewa (SG, §§ 175 f.); cf. similarly Kahle's Targum fragments.

³⁴) The orthography (*di-a-ba-ba'*) shows that the *l* is lost rather than assimilated to the following consonant.

suffix *-ia* is orthographic rather than morphologic (§ 53 a), while the two instances of the conjunction *u* are outweighed by nine cases of the correct Aramaic *ya* (§ 70). The Akkadianisms are therefore scribal and not part of the dialect.

Normalization.

74. In the light of the preceding grammatical remarks I offer the following tentative normalization. No attempt is made to indicate when orthographic *i* is vocal šewa; cf. § 35.

(1) *našaiṭ kiṭar min 'iggār* (2) [ʔa]ʔ : [š] *atiq min sippā d'abābā* (3) [ʔa] *hḥitē tihōt liššānī* (4) *gallit 'al bai malē milinn* (5) *pātōr 'asir liššān* : 'aggann (6) *māzīgā mirrā* : *mahziṭā dī* (7) *hazaunt bai malē milinn šatiq* (8) *pātōr 'asir liššān 'itkapt* (9) 'aggann *māzīgā mirrā 'ittāšidat* (10) 'and *zakitt ya 'a[n] d za(k)kdā* ? [. . .] (11) *quddām rabrabē ya [d]ida(d)dē* (12) *n[iš]ē u gabrē : šūq ya kantšaiṭ[t]* (13) *tar[a]g ya [i]ātibaiṭ* (14) *quddām pildn min kul 'ullā* (15) *raʔʔi[.]ʔ[.]ʔ* : *ḥasstrid šil[amt]* (16) *ḥagtrid rihuṭt 'aškaḥt ḥabarān* (17) *ia(t)ttr[t] d kašdā qūmt(ē)n* (18) 'amar *šatē qūm ḥariš*

(19) *mann rāgiz mann mitraggaz* (20) *mann lābiš šamlat rugaz[ē]* (21) 'iṣṣā *ba pummē : galak(/q)i[nn] t[ihōt] : :: liššān[ē]* (22) *pildn bar pild* (23) *rāgiz ya mitraggaz : ya* (24) *lābiš šamlat rugazē : 'iṣṣā ba pu[mmē]* (25) *ya galak(/q)inn tihōt liššānē* (26) 'and *ha(k)ktm 'iblē idlīd ? [.]* (27, rev.) *našaiṭ kiṭar min ? [.]* (28) *miḥaššē min ? ? [.]* (29) *gallit 'al pildn dil[d]* (30) 'ašlaḥtē *šamlat r[u]gazaṭ* (31) [ʔa] *lbišē šamlat š[a]lmaiṭ[t]* (32) *našaiṭ 'iṣṣā min pum[mē]* (33) *ya galak(/q)tn m[i]n tihōt [liššānē]* (34) *ṭābāt minn pummē [ya]* (35) *bīṭšdāt min šd[t]ē ? [.]* (36) *quddām rabbē u [d]i[da(d)dē]* (37) *nišē ya gabarē [: šūq ya [kantšaiṭ]* (38) *tarag ya iāt[i] baiṭ* (39) *ya quddām p[i]ldn mi[n] ku[l 'ullā]* (40) *[raʔʔi-]ʔ[.]ʔ ḥ[a]s[s]trid šilamt* (41) *ḥ[ag]trid rihuṭt 'aškaḥt ḥaba[rān]* (42) *ia(t)ttrid kašdā qūmt(ē)n* (43) 'amar *šatē qūm ḥariš*

Vocabulary.

אבל : *ib-li-e* (26) "troubles/his trouble" (Go.).
אגן : *ag-gan-nu* (5, 9) "a bowl" (Dr.).
אמר : *a-ma-ār* (18, 43) "speak!" (Dr.).
אנה : *a-na-* (10, 26) "I" (Dr.).
אשר : *a-si-ir* (5, 8) "one who ties" (root, Eb.; form, Go.).
? ? : [a] *b-hu* (2) "wood" (?), representing a pronunciation between that reflected in the older writing אֵל and the younger אֶל ?
אש : *iš-šā-* (21, 24, 32) "fire" (Eb.).
אשר : *it-ta-ši-da-at* (9) "it(f.) was spilled" (Dr.).

ב

ב : *ba-* (21, 24) "in" (Je.).
באש : *bi-i-šā-ti-ta* (35) "my bad things" (Eb.).
בב : *di-a-ba-ba-* (2) "which is at the door" (noun, Eb.; prefixes, Go.).
בית : *ba-a-* (4, 7) "house" (Baumgartner apud Je.).
? ? ? : *ba/ma-a-a-tū* ? [] (28) : difficult; Je. and Bo. read בית "house."
בר : *ba-ri* (22) "son" (Eb.).

ג

גבר : *ga-ba-ri-e* (37), *ga-[a]b-ri-e* (12) "men" (noun, Eb.; form, Dr.).

ד

די : *di-* (6); as prefix, *di-* (2, 11, 36) "which" (Dr.); cf. *di-l[a-]* (29) "that not" (?).
דר : *[d]i-da-di-e* (11, cf. 36) "they of breasts, sucklings, children" (Go.).

ה

ו : *u-ma-* (10, 11, 12, 13, 25, 33, 37, 38, 39) "and" (Dr.); var. *u* (12, 36).

ז

זכר : *za-ki-it* (10) "I have won," *za-ka-a-a* (10) "victorious" (Je.).

ח

חבר : *ḥa-ba-ra-an* (16, 41) "companions" (f.) (noun, Eb.; form, Go.).
חגר : *ḥa-gi-ir-ta-* (16, cf. 41) "lame woman" (Bo.).
חזי : *ma-aḥ-zi-ta-* *di' ḥa-za-ū-ni-* (6—7) "when they saw me" (Epstein).
חכם : *ḥa-ki-mi* (26) "wise" (Dr.), i. e., "skilled, competent (in medicine/magic)".
חסר : *ḥa-as-si-ir-ta-a* (15, cf. 40) "deficient one" (f.) (cf. Dr. and Je.).
חרש : *ḥa-ri-iš* (18, 43) "deaf-and-dumb" (root, Eb.; form, Go.).

חשש : *mi-ḥa-āš-še-e* (28) "to pain him" (Ginsberg). Equally possible are "pains" and "his pain" (Go.).

ט

טב : *ta-ba-ti-ia* (34) "my good things" (cf. Eb.).

י

ילד : *ia-a-li-di* (26) "begetting" (cf. Je.).

יתב : *[i]a-a-ti-ib-a-a-'i-i* (13, 38) "its(m.) sitters" (root, Dr.; form, Je.).

יתר : *ia-ti-ir-ta'* (42, cf. 17) "superabundant" (cf. Dr.).

כ

כל : *kul* (14) "all" (Eb.).

כנש : *ka-niṣ-a-a-['i-i]* (12) "its assembled ones" (root, Je.; form and restoration, Go.).

כמא : *it-ka-pi'* (8) "it(m.) was upset" (Dr.).

ל

לבש : *la-bi-iṣ* (20, cf. 24) "wearing," *[a]l-bi-iṣ-te-e* (31) "I clad him" (verb, Eb.; suffix, Dr.).

לשן : *li-iṣ-šá-an* (5, cf. 8) "tongue," *li-iṣ-šá-ni'* (3) "my tongue," *liṣ-šá-ni-e* (25, cf. 21) "his tongue" (Eb.).

מ

מזג : *ma-zi-ga'* (6, 9) "mixer(f.)" (root, Dr.; form, Go.).

מלא : *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni* (4, 7) "adversary" (lit. "full of words") (Epstein).

מלל : see preceding.

מן : *man-nu* (19, 20) "who?" (Eb.).

מן : *mi-in* (1, 2, 14, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35), *mi-in-ni* (34) "from" (Eb.).

מרר : *mi-ir-ra'* (6, 9) "poison" (root, Dr.; form, partly by Je., partly by Go.).

נ

נחת : *[a]ḥ-hi-te-e* (3) "I brought it(m.) down" (Je.).

נשא : *na-šá-a-a-tú* (1, 27, 32) "I lifted, brought" (root, Dr.; form, Je.).

נש : *ni-še-e* (37, cf. 12) "women" (root, Eb.; form, Dr.).

ס

ספף : *si-ip-pa-a* (2) "threshold" (Eb.).

ע

על : *al* (4, 29) "upon" (Eb.); as prefix, *a-* (2) (Go.).

עלל : *ul-la'* (14) "ill, misfortune, disease" (meaning, Eb.; etymology, Go.).

עלל : *ḥa-al-li-tú* (4, 29) "I entered" (Baumgartner apud Je.).

עלק : *ḥa-la-ki-i-ni* (33), *ḥa-la-ki-in-ni* (25, cf. 21) "leeches" (Je.).

פ

פלן : *pi-la-nu* (22, 29) "so-and-so(m.)" (Eb.), *pi-la'* (22) "so-and-so(f.)" (Ginsberg).

פמם : *pu-um-mi-e* (21, 24, 32, 34) "his mouth" (root, Eb.; form, Je.).

פחר : *pa-tu-ú-ri* (5, cf. 8) "table" (Je.).

ק

קדם : *qu-da-am* (11, 14, 36) "in the presence of" (Eb.).

קים : *qu-um* (18, 43) "rise! (m. s.)" (Eb.), *qu-ú-mi-ni* "rise! (f. pl.)" (Go.).

קטר : *ki-ta-ri* (1, 27) "knot" (Je.).

קצא : *ka-ša-ta'* (17, cf. 42) "cut off, deficient (f.)" (root, Dr.).

ר

רב(ב) : *ra-[a]b-ra-bi-e* (11), *ra-ab-bi-e* (36) "great ones, adults" (root, Eb.; form, Dr.).

רגז : *ra-gi-zu* (19, 23) "raging" (Eb.), *mi-it-ra-ag-ga-zu* (23, cf. 19) "maddened" (Eb.), *ru-ga-zi-e* (24, cf. 20) "ragings" (Go.), *r[u]-ga-z[a]-[a]-a-'i-i* (30) "his ragings" (Go.).

רדהט : *ri-ḥu-ti'* (16, cf. 41) "run!(f.)" (Je.).

רעע(?) : *ra-ah-ḥi?* [...] (15); from רעע "to break" corresponding to Arabic *raḍḍa* and Hebrew רצע (cf. §§ 31, 49)?

ש

שוק : *šù(m)-q[ti]* (12, cf. 37) "market, open place, street" (Ginsberg and Go.).

שמא : *šá-ti-e* (18, 43) "mad man" (cf. Je.: "Dummer").

שכח : *áš-ka-ḥi-i* (16, 41) "find!(f.)" (Eb.).

שלח : *áš-lāḥ-te-e* (30) "I stripped him" (verb, Eb.; suffix, Dr.).

שלם : *ši-l[a-mi-']* (15) "be full!(f.)" (root, Dr.; form, Je.), *š[a]l-ma-a-a-['i-i]* (31) "his well-being(pl.)" (root, Eb.; form, Go.).

שמל : *šá-am-lat* (20, 24, 30, 31) "garb" (Eb.).

שה : *šá-[ti]e-e* (35) "his arse" (Go.).

שתק : *šá-ti-iq* (2) "silent" (participle), (7) "it became silent" (root, Eb.).

ת

תחת : *ti-ḥu-ú-tú* (3, 21, 25, 33) "under" (Eb.).

תרה : *ta-ra-ḥi* (38, cf. 13) "gate" (Je.).

A Marriage of the Gods in Canaanite Mythology

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while emphasizing again at this point that all the EB III-MB I and Iron I-II pottery found on the trips, extending this year from August to November, is of exactly the same general type as that discovered on related sites reported on previously. It may perhaps be advisable to push the beginning of the Bronze-Age period of some of the sites examined somewhat before 2200 B. C. to about 2300 B. C., but the date for the end of this period in southern Transjordan, that is about 1800 B. C., remains the same. With regard to the Iron I-II pottery in Moab and Edom, we should like here to emphasize one fact to which we have already alluded,⁷¹ namely, that the beginnings of this pottery go back to what would be the end of Late Bronze in Palestine. In other words, the settlement of southern Transjordan begins before the commencement of the Iron Age in Palestine. Therefore the people who produced this pottery were settled in Eastern Palestine for some time before Early Iron Age pottery began to be manufactured in Western Palestine. Naturally this fact has direct bearing upon parts of the Exodus story, which correctly places the Edomites in their territory before the Israelites appear upon the scene.⁷² The archaeological evidence agrees with the *background* of the Biblical accounts, and we still find it impossible to escape the conclusion that the Exodus of the Israelites under Moses through southern Transjordan could not have taken place before the thirteenth century B. C. The statement just made that the beginnings of Early Iron Age pottery in Moab and Edom go back to the end of the Late Bronze in Palestine, and precede the beginnings of the Early Iron Age there is subscribed to by Père Vincent and Prof. Fisher, who have carefully examined the pottery in question. The dating of the pottery we believe to be fairly certain. Let those who break lances for the sake of hypotheses bear this in mind!⁷³

Jerusalem, November 22, 1936.

A MARRIAGE OF THE GODS IN CANAANITE MYTHOLOGY

CYRUS H. GORDON

It is no exaggeration to say that the discovery of the Ras esh-Shamrah texts is marking a new era in the study of ancient Canaan. A hitherto unknown literature in a new Semitic language has revolutionized our understanding of that country in the second millennium B. C. Whole phrases of the Old Testament have been found letter for letter. Several kinds of Hebrew meter can now be traced back to prototypes in the Ras esh-Shamrah epics.¹ Among other contributions to our knowledge the newly discovered texts have yielded an extensive, hitherto lost mythology.

There are now three more or less comprehensive collections of the Ras esh-Shamrah texts. The first to appear was Montgomery-Harris, *The Ras*

⁷¹ *Annual* XIV, p. 14.

⁷² *BULLETIN* 55, p. 16.

⁷³ Cf. Phythian-Adams, "Israel in the 'Arabah (II)," in *PEFQS* 1934, p. 188.

¹ Dr. H. L. Ginsberg's discoveries in this field are, for the most part, as yet unpublished.

Shamra Mythological Texts, Philadelphia, 1935. After an introduction, including the best available sketch of the grammar, the mythological texts are given in Hebrew transliteration followed by a glossary. The next corpus was published in Hebrew by H. L. Ginsberg, *The Ugarit Texts*, Jerusalem, 1936. All the texts available up to the middle of 1935 are presented in Hebrew transliteration and translation. The introduction is interesting, the numerous notes are important, while the list of biblical parallels and the glossary are exceedingly useful. The most recent corpus is that of Hans Bauer, *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Shamra*, Berlin, 1936. The texts are given in Latin characters with some explanatory footnotes. There is appended a short, selected glossary for the aid of students whose knowledge of Semitic languages is essentially limited to biblical Hebrew. All three corpora include bibliographies.^{1a}

The indefatigable French savant, Ch. Virolleaud, has just published a text which he calls "Hymne phénicien au dieu Nikal et aux déesses Košarôt."^{1b} A comparison of this title with that of the present paper will show that my interpretation differs considerably from Virolleaud's. Nikkal is not a god but a goddess (= Sumerian "Ningal," who is similarly married to the Moon-god). The poem celebrates her courtship by Yarih,² the Moon-god, and her marriage to him. Nevertheless, I sincerely acknowledge my indebtedness to Virolleaud for his excellent autographed copy and for his pioneer decipherment.

The text describes a *hieros gamos*; the clue to its significance is *tlh* (*m*) and *mlg* (l. 47) whose meanings have escaped Virolleaud. *Tlh* (*m*) appears in Hebrew as *šillūhīm*, "a father's wedding gift to his daughter" (I Kings 9: 16; cf. Micah 1: 14³).⁴ *Mlg* corresponds to the Accadian *mulugu*, "the estate brought by a bride from her father's house." In the Nuzi tablets the *mulugu* generally refers to real property.⁵ According to the Mishnah, *Yebamot* 7: 1, the *mēlōg* refers to property (the example given is sheep), of which the husband has the usufruct but for whose loss he is not responsible. These words clearly point to the fact that lines 33-37 describe the conveyance of marriage gifts. Virolleaud mentions, but unfortunately rejects (pp. 223-224), the explanation of *mznm* (ll. 34, 35, 37) as "balances."^{5a} The balances are naturally used by the bride's family to weigh

^{1a} In addition to the material available in Bauer's collection, Virolleaud has published during 1936 parts of two major epics; to wit, *La légende phénicienne de Danel* and *La légende de Keret*; and also two minor ones in *Syria*, XVII, pp. 150-173 and 209-228. Dr. Albright has retranslated most of the Keret text in BULLETIN No. 63, Oct. 1936, pp. 23-32. Professor Montgomery has published some interesting notes on the Legend of Danel in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LVI, 1936, pp. 440-445. Readers of the BULLETIN will find surveys of the earlier discoveries in Nos. 46, 15 ff.; 50, 13 ff.

^{1b} *Syria*, XVII, pp. 209-228.

² This vocalization underlies the Massoretic Hebrew *yārīḥāh*, "moon."

³ For the significance of this passage, see the commentaries.

⁴ The lexica are accordingly wrong in listing this word under שָׁל "to send" whose root appears in Ras esh-Shamrah as *šlh*; cp. l. 21.

⁵ See *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLIII, 1936, pp. 157-158.

^{5a} The identity of *mznm* with the Hebrew *mōznāyim* shows that the *aleph* is pseudo-historical spelling due to contamination with *'oznāyim*, "ears." The formation is *maqṭal* and ought to appear as **mōznāyim*. The Massoretic *mōznāyim* is now intelligible in view of the confusion with *'oznāyim*. Dr. Albright is correct in deriving *mznm*/*mōznāyim* from *wzn*, which occurs commonly in Arabic.

the silver and gold presented by the groom. The participation of the bride's entire immediate family recalls biblical incidents like Genesis 24: 53, 55; 34: 4-13.

In l. 19 *tmhrh* seems to signify "thou wilt obtain her by paying the *mohar*" rather than "tu le dépêcheras." This very verb appears in the Old Testament in the same meaning in Exodus 22: 15, "He shall surely take her as his wife by paying the *mohar* for her." The *mohar* is further mentioned in Genesis 34: 12, Exodus 22: 16 and I Samuel 18: 25. The biblical meaning approximates "a marriage price."⁶

Hesitantly I suggest that *ytrh* (ll. 18, 33) means "he pays the *trh* (l. 26) = *terhatu*." The *terhatu* is a well-known kind of marriage payment occurring in Accadian documents.⁷ Originally it was not a marriage price but it often degenerated into just that.⁸ The translation of *mtrh*[*t*] in l. 10 shares the uncertainty of its cognate *ytrh*.

It is impossible at present to give precise, legal definitions of the *tlh*(*m*), *mlg*, **mhr* and *trh* (?) in Phoenicia of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Nevertheless, the importance of this text for the history of the institution of marriage in Canaan is considerable. For though the marriage is divine, it unmistakably reflects contemporary human ceremonies. Nowhere in Canaanite (Hebrew) literature is there so complete a description of the conveyance of the marriage gifts. No biblical passage gives such a full terminology.

The poem tells of the request of the Moon (Yariḥ) for Nikkal's hand in marriage. Yariḥ apparently asks *Ḥrḥb*, the king of summer, to act as his mediator with Baal, Nikkal's father (ll. 16-24). Yariḥ's suit is successful and the formalities of the marriage are completed (ll. 33-37). Hymns in praise of the bride, groom, *Ḥrḥb* and the daughters of Hilāl (the New Moon)^{9a} serve as the prologue and epilogue.

I follow the system of transliteration familiar to the reader from Professor Albright's studies on Ras esh-Shamrah.⁹ Letters that are incomplete in the autography are italicized. It will readily be seen that the following decipherment makes no claim to anything that approaches exhaustiveness or finality.

'ašr nkl w'eb[d] ¹⁰	I sing of Nikkal and I cha[nt] of
ḥrḥb . mlk . qz ḥrḥb m-	<i>Ḥrḥb</i> , king of summer; <i>Ḥrḥb</i> , king
lk . txzt . bsx[]špš	of ——— in —[] the Sun,
yrḥ ytkh . yḥ[]d	the Moon ——— —[]-
5) tld b'l [g]m[l ^{10a} lk]	she beareth the bene[f]ac[tor]. O Kô-

⁶ Cf. R. Dussaud, "Le 'mohar' israélite," *Comptes rendus (Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres)*, 1935, pp. 141-151.

⁷ Driver-Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, Oxford, 1935, pp. 191-193.

⁸ Gordon, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XLIII, pp. 157-158.

^{9a} *Hilāl* (Hebrew *Hēlāl*, Isa. 14: 12, where he is called "son of dawn") is the common word for "new moon" in Arabic. Dr. Albright compares the rôle of the daughters of Hilāl to that of the seven bridal attendants of Innina (Ishtar) in Babylonia (Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 29, note). Cf. also Esther 2: 9.

⁹ See *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XII (1932), 186 ff., XIV, 104 ff.

¹⁰ Parallelism shows that 'ebd is synonymous with 'ašr; cf. ll. 37-38.

^{10a} For the restoration, see l. 42. If this restoration proves to be correct, this passage, in the light of l. 7, may perhaps be important for the prehistory of Mes-sianic doctrine.

trt . lbnt hl[]	tharât, O daughter(s) of Hilâl[]
hl ¹¹ . x]mt tld b[n ¹²]	Lo a girl will bear a s[on]
'n hn . lydh tzd[n ^{12a}]	[sa]yeth: Lo for his love she ———et[h]
pt lbšrh . dmy[]h	—— my blood to his flesh []-
10) wyn . kmtrh[t]h	—— like her-that-is-obtained-in-marr[ie]g[e]
šm' 'elht ktr[t]mm	Hear (O) goddess(es), (O) Kotharâ[t]-
nh lydh tzdn[]	— for his love she ———eth[]
l 'adn[h b'l bn]	to [her] father [Baal, the son]
dgn ¹³ tt[]š]m	of Dagon, she[——eth.]
15) ' . lktrt hl[l lsn]nt	[He]ar, O Kôtharât of Hilâ[l, O swal]low(s) !
yl'ak yrh nyr šmm . 'm	Yarih, illuminator of heaven, sends to
hr[h]b mlk qz . tn nkl y-	Hr[h]b, king of summer: "Give Nikkal!
rh ytrh . 'ebt 'rbm ¹⁴ bbh-	Yarih will pay the <i>terhatu</i> ——— in
th ¹⁵ . w'at tmhrh l'a-	her house and thou wilt obtain her by convey-
	ing the <i>mohar</i> to her
20) bh . 'alp ksp . wrbt h-	father; (viz.) a thousand (shekels) ¹⁶ of silver
	and a myriad of
rš . 'ešlh zhrm eq-	gold. I shall send jewels of lapis-
n'em . 'atn šdh krmm	lazuli. I shall make her land into vineyards;
šd ddh hrnqm . w-	the land of her friends, into orchards." ¹⁷
y'n hrh'b mlk qz l-	And <i>Hr[h]b</i> , king of summer, said: "O
25) n'mn . 'elm lhtn	Fairest of the Gods, O son-in-law
m . b'l trh pdr ¹⁸ yb[]	of Baal! The <i>terhatu</i> ——— —[]
'aqrbk abh b'l	I shall bring her father, Baal, into relation-
	ship with thee.
yxpr . 'ttrt	—— Astarte
rhk ybr dmy ¹⁹ . bt [a-]	thy ewe —— the house of her
30) bh lb'u y'rr ²⁰ . wy'n	[fa]ther. —— And Yarih,
yrh nyr šmm . wn' n-	illuminator of heaven, said: And ——
'mn ²¹ nkl htyn . 'ahr ²²	—— my marrying Nikkal. Yarih

¹¹ See Ginsberg's glossary for the meaning of *hl*. Dr. Albright compares *allû* in the Amarna tablets; see Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, pp. 1367-1368.

¹² Virolleaud properly notes the striking parallel in Isa. 7: 14, "Lo the girl conceive and beareth a son."

^{12a} Restored after l. 12.

¹³ For this epithet of Baal, see *Keret*, ll. 77-78, 170.

¹⁴ I am not sure as to whether '*rb* here means "to enter" or "to deposit a pledge." Both definitions are found in Semitic dialects.

¹⁵ The plural of *bt* "house" is *bhtm*, from which this secondary singular is derived by back-formation. Cf. '*elôah* "god" (as against the normal singular '*el*) which is apparently a back-formation from '*elôhim*.

¹⁶ For the idiomatic omission of the word for "shekel" cf. Gen. 20: 16.

¹⁷ Translation based solely on parallelism with *krmm*; hence tentative.

¹⁸ *Pdr* ordinarily means "city"; see Ginsberg's glossary; cf. Pharaoh's wedding gift of cities in I Kings 9: 16. However, it is conceivable that here *pdr* is parallel in meaning to *rhl* in l. 29; cf. Arabic *fadar*, "a full-grown mountain goat."

¹⁹ *Ybr dmy* might be translated "let my blood be pure." Yet I can make no satisfactory sense of ll. 28-30.

²⁰ *Lb'u y'rr* could be rendered "the lion waketh" but the context is obscure.

²¹ The text seems to be corrupt. Perhaps there is a conflation of '*ny*, "to say" and '*mn*, "fair."

²² This preposition may have the nuance of "after" as in the expression *hâlak a'aharê*, "to go after" = "to make suit for"; Deu. 4: 3, I Kings 14: 8, Jer. 2: 8 etc.

nkl yrḥ ytrḥ . 'adnh
yšt mšb . mznm . 'umh
35) kp mznm . 'eḥh ytr
mšrrm²³ . 'aḥtth²⁴ l'a-
bn mznm . nkl w'eb-
d ašr . 'ar yrḥ . wy-
rḥ y'ark
40) ašr 'elht ktrt bn-
t hll . snnt . bnt h-

ll b'l gml²⁵ . yrdt
b'rgzm²⁶ . bgbzt dm'
l l'ay . 'm lzpn 'e-
45) l d(!)p'ed²⁷ . hn bpy sp-
rhn . bspty mn-
thn ṭlh wmlgh y-
ṭtqt 'mh bq't
tq't²⁹ 'm prbhṭ
50) dmqt šxrt ktrt

payeth the *terḥatu* for Nikkal. Her father
setteth the stand of the balances. Her mother,
the tray of the balances. Her brothers —
the ———s. Her sisters (attend) to
the weights of the balances. I chant of
Nikkal. I sing of the light of the Moon
and may the Moon long (shine).
I sing of the goddess(es), the Kôtharât,
the daughter(s) of Hilâl, the swallow(s),
daughter(s) of
Hilâl, the benefactor, who go down
into the ———s, into the ——— of weeping
——— to *Lzpn*, the
god of mercy. Lo in my mouth is their
number, on my lip(s) is their
counting.²⁸ His *ṭlh(m)* and *mlg*
——— to her ———
——— to *Prbhṭ*
the comely, the youngest of the Kôtharât.

NEWS OF THE SCHOOLS

The annual meetings of the Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research were held at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, Dec. 28-29, in connection with the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. The first session was called to order by President Burrows at 1:00 p. m. In addition to the President the following were present: Messrs. Barton, Grant, Montgomery, Morey, Morgenstern, Moulton, and Schmidt of the Trustees; Messrs. Bull, Cadbury, Kraeling, Meek, Pfeiffer, and Stephens of the Associate Trustees; also Mr. Albright (Chairman of the Committee on the School in Jerusalem) and Mr. Moon (Executive Secretary). Mr. Burrows presented his annual report (which has been printed in the BULLETIN, No. 64, pp. 33-5) and read excerpts from recent letters of

²³ By itself *mšrrm* can correspond exactly to the Hebrew *mešôrerîm*, "singers," "poets." Nevertheless the context concerns the weighing of silver and gold. Conjecturally, I suggest that *mšrrm* mean "pieces (of metal)." *Ytr* could be cognate to the Hebrew *š'r*, which in the piel means "to estimate," unless it is cognate with the Arabic *s'r*. In this case it should come into the Ras esh-Shamrah dialect as **š'r*.

²⁴ Double feminine. An exact parallel is *šuhartātu* "girls" in the Nuzi tablets; cf. *Babyloniaca*, XVI, 1936, p. 115.

²⁵ I have translated this word in accordance with a passage called to my attention by Dr. Albright; namely, *bél gi-mil-li-šú* (A. G. Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon II*, Paris, 1929, p. 54, l. 369).

²⁶ The first letter makes identification with Hebrew *'argāz*, "treasure chest," doubtful.

²⁷ Otherwise *ltpn 'el dp'ed*, see Ginsberg's glossary. In this text *t*, when it corresponds to Arabic *z* is written *z*; cf. *zhrm* in l. 21, which is elsewhere *ṭhrm*.

²⁸ This rendering has reference to the number of the wedding gifts. It is also possible to translate: "Lo in my mouth is their story; on my lip(s), their tale."

²⁹ Dr. Albright calls my attention to the play on words here. For this phenomenon in the Hebrew Scriptures see Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, Boston, 1894.

The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF RELATED DEPOSITS—(*Continued*)

PERIOD	SITES	CHARACTERISTICS	ELSEWHERE
4000 B. C. ?		Flints: Ghassulian chipping; fan-scrapers; no arrowheads of Tahunian type.	Halafian ↓
Lower Chalcolithic	E, O Ghassûl Khudairah Qatâfah Qala'ah Gezer	Pottery: lug-handles ubiquitous; loop-handles rare but of Neolithic type; Neolithic jar form developed and used; introduction of early "hole-mouth" jar with thin rim-section; thick ledge-handles and knob-handles; scalloping; many new forms; painted pottery; braziers in pottery as well as in basalt.	
Middle Chalcolithic	Jericho VIII Beth-shan XVIII and pits	Flints: unpublished. Pottery: loop-handles with thickened attachments; lug-handles few; new forms, especially the "bow-rim"; development of ledge-handle: forms slightly larger; absence of Neolithic jar form and others typically Ghassulian.	Judeideh XIII Qal'at er-Rûs XVIII-XVII
± 3400 B. C.		Flints: "Cananean" type; fan-scrapers coarse. Pottery: scalloped (and probably wavy) ledge-handles; thickened "hole-mouth" rim; "bow-rims" at Megiddo; gray-burnished ware; very little painting; red slip; introduction of many new forms; plain ledge-handle introduced in latter part of the period.	S. D. 40 "Gerzean"
Upper Chalcolithic (Esdraelon Culture)	Beth-shan XVII-XVI Beth-yerah 'Aḫḫêh Megiddo VII-VI (?) ↓		Byblos Malta, Crete Judeideh XII Ma'adi ↓
± 3200 B. C.	Jericho		
EB	VII-VI	Pottery: painted-pottery culture in south; "grain-wash" pottery in north; gray-burnished ware continues in north.	
First phase of "Alpha"	Ai necropolis Ophel, Tomb 3 Beth-shan XV		
± 3000 B. C.	Megiddo V		"Semainean"

THE STORY OF JACOB AND LABAN IN THE LIGHT OF THE NUZI TABLETS¹

CYRUS H. GORDON

The relationship that existed between Jacob and Laban takes on an entirely new meaning in the light of the Nuzi documents, most of which have been discovered by the joint expeditions of the Schools.²

Mr. C. J. Gadd has published an interesting text in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXIII, 1926, pp. 126-7, 155. It is a contract in which a man

[¹ The material sketched in this article was presented by Dr. Gordon on Dec. 31st, 1936, before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. It is interesting to note that President Burrows arrived independently at the same general conclusions in a paper entitled "The Complaint of Laban's Daughters (Gen. 31: 14-16)," read before the American Oriental Society on April 1st, 1937.—W. F. A.]

² On the Nuzi tablets, see BULLETIN, No. 64, pp. 23 ff.

named Našwi (probably the correct reading), who had no son of his own, adopted one Wullu and made him his heir. In return for the patrimony Wullu is to care for Našwi throughout the latter's life. If Našwi should eventually beget a son, that son and Wullu are to share the inheritance but only the begotten son is to take Našwi's gods. Only if Našwi does not beget a son is Wullu to take these gods. As a condition in the adoption Wullu is to marry Našwi's daughter.³ Wullu is forbidden to marry any other woman under the penalty of forfeiting Našwi's real property.

If the reader substitutes "Laban" for "Našwi" and "Jacob" for "Wullu," the bearing of this text on the study of the biblical account of Jacob and Laban becomes obvious.

Laban apparently had no sons when Jacob first joins his household (Gen. 29). Laban's sons were presumably born between that time and twenty years later (Gen. 31:41) when they are first mentioned (Gen. 31:1). Laban agrees to give a daughter in marriage to Jacob (Gen. 29:19). Our thesis that Laban simultaneously adopted Jacob is borne out by a remarkable similarity with the Nuzi tablet.

Laban's insistence that Jacob take no wife in addition to his daughters (Gen. 31:50) is interesting but cannot be used as evidence because the prohibition against the bridegroom's taking another wife is quite widespread. More significant, though by itself inconclusive, is Laban's gift of a handmaid to each of his daughters upon their marriage to Jacob (Gen. 29:24, 29). Precisely this is done under similar circumstances in another Nuzi tablet copied by Chiera, *Harvard Semitic Series*, V, text 67, and transliterated and translated by Speiser, *Annual*, X, pp. 31-33; see lines 35-36.

Rachel's theft of the gods (Gen. 31:19, 30-35), however, is unmistakably paralleled.⁴ Našwi stipulates that if he should beget a son, that son and not his adopted son is to take his (Našwi's) gods. The gods apparently constituted the title to the chief inheritance portion and leadership of the family. Because Laban had meanwhile begotten sons, Jacob had no right to Laban's gods and Laban's indignation (Gen. 31:30) is justified. Jacob, on the other hand, had not bargained for so secondary a position. His hopes had been frustrated by the birth of Laban's sons.

The following words of Laban are intelligible only if understood as being addressed to Jacob in the latter's capacity of Laban's adopted son (not son-in-law!): "The daughters are my daughters and the sons are my sons and the flocks are my flocks and whatever thou seest is mine" (Gen. 31:43). Laban was to exercise patriarchal authority over all his children and grandchildren as long as he lived. Jacob, as Laban's adopted son, and Jacob's wives, children and flocks belonged to Laban. Laban had every right to punish Jacob for running away and stealing members of Laban's household but Laban chose to be lenient for religious (Gen. 31:24, 29) as well as personal (Gen. 31:43) reasons.

That Rachel and Leah were not free to leave Laban's house was not because they were his daughters (for under ordinary circumstances mar-

³ Cf. the Babylonian institution of *errebu*-marriage; see Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 283b.

⁴ Cf. Sidney Smith, "What Were the Teraphim?", *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIII, 1932, pp. 33-36.

ried daughters belonged to their husbands) but because they belonged to Laban through their husband's adoption. They were as guilty as Jacob in agreeing to run off (Gen. 31:14-16).

The study of the Nuzi tablets necessitates a reinterpretation of the Patriarchal Period.⁵ Regardless of how late the biblical account may have been redacted in its present form, the social background portrayed is essentially that of North Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium B. C., a slightly later form of which is reflected in these tablets.

AN AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE IN SOUTHERN TRANSJORDAN

NELSON GLUECK

As a result of the archaeological survey of Eastern Palestine conducted by the American Schools of Oriental Research, more than 600 datable ancient sites have been examined, planned where possible, and their locations fixed on maps, during the course of three expeditions which took place between 1932-1936.¹ Due to the courtesy of the Air Officer Commanding Palestine and Transjordan, it was possible for the writer to realize a long-felt desire to supplement these archaeological explorations on land by an aerial survey. It is a pleasure to record here also our gratitude to the Air Officer Commanding Palestine and Transjordan, Air Commodore Roderic Hill, for granting permission for the flight, to Squadron Leader W. L. Dawson, who made the necessary arrangements, and to Squadron Leader T. Traill of the 14th Bombing Squadron. The flight was part of the regular training schedule of the Fourteenth Bombing Squadron stationed in 'Ammân, the capital of Transjordan. Squadron Leader Traill's keen interest in archaeology, his thorough knowledge of Transjordan, and his quick understanding of archaeological problems were largely responsible for whatever measure of success our aerial reconnaissance of southern Transjordan attained.

On November 5th, 1936, we left Qalandia, the small airport nine kilometres north of Jerusalem, at 6.30 a. m., and in half-an-hour landed at the airport in 'Ammân. By the time the writer got used to the arrangements in the cockpit located behind the one in which Squadron Leader Traill sat at the controls, we were over the Jordan Valley. Below us stretched Palestine, appearing from our vantage point like the familiar relief maps we had so often gazed at,—this one, however, having been suddenly transformed into shimmering reality. A few long backward glances, and we were already half way to 'Ammân, and in a few more minutes were gliding down to a landing there. We left 'Ammân at 8.30 a. m., flying southwestward towards the Dead Sea. The first objective of the flight was the examination of the 'Arabah from the air. Inasmuch as it would have taken all of the flying time at our disposal, and more, to examine all of the 'Arabah, we

⁵ See Speiser, *Annual* XIII, p. 44. Also note *Revue Biblique*, XLIV, 1935, pp. 35 f.

¹ BULLETIN 49-51. 55. 64. 65; *Annual* XIV, XV.



Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery

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WESTERN ASIATIC SEALS IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

By CYRUS H. GORDON

THE Near East glyptic collection in the Walters Art Gallery,¹ Baltimore, has been virtually unknown except for the original 'Tarkondemos' seal rediscovered and published by Dr. Dorothy K. Hill (*Archiv Orientalní*, ix, 1937, 307-10).² The collection, though numbering only 128 pieces, is interestingly varied. Unfortunately, there is no record of where any of the seals were found; all were purchased from dealers.

The plaster impressions that have found their way into the Walters Art Gallery are included in this study. No information regarding the whereabouts of the originals is available.

The literature on the glyptic art of Mesopotamia and the surrounding countries is large and very scattered. No one has attempted to compile a complete bibliography, and the best available list of publications is Von der Osten's.³ At present there is much scholarly activity focussed on the study of seals, as is exemplified by the recent and the forthcoming contributions of Frankfort,⁴ Herzfeld, Van Buren,⁵ *et al.*

Strange as it seems, we are better informed on glyptics of the fourth and third millennia than on those of the second and first millennia (B.C.), thanks especially to the rich finds at the methodically excavated sites of Warka, Fara, Ur, Khafaji, Tall Asmar, &c. The material from the Warka period to the Early Dynastic has been admirably treated by Moortgat,⁶ but later remains have been relatively neglected. However, Moortgat has helped dispel the darkness of the second millennium,⁷ and Herzfeld⁸ has done much to fix the chronology of the second millennium and later Assyrian seals by assembling the material dated by inscriptions. The glyptics of the highly problematic second millennium will be further clarified by the forthcoming publications of Schaeffer on the seals from Ras Shamra and of McEwan on those from Tall Judaideh, while Hittite seals and the reading of the hieroglyphs on them will be elucidated by the 200 seals recently unearthed at Boğazköy. It is gratifying to report that No. 26 of the present collection provides a new fixed point in the difficult second millennium.

¹ This study has been made possible by the interest and co-operation of Mr. C. MORGAN MARSHALL, Director of the Walters Art Gallery, and his able staff. I am also deeply grateful to my colleagues, Professor WM. F. ALBRIGHT and MR. A. SACHS, for their constant helpfulness.

² For seal impressions on Old Assyrian tablets in the Gallery, see J. LEWY, *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*, i, 1937, pl. II.

³ *Oriental Institute Publications*, xxii (= Newell Collection), Chicago, 1934, 168-90; continued in vol. xxxvii (= Brett Collection), 1936, pp. 62-70.

⁴ Frankfort is about to publish a general study on Mesopotamian glyptics.

⁵ Mrs. Van Buren is preparing a series of monographs on 'fauna' for *Analecta Orientalia*.

⁶ *Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, xl, 3), 1935.

⁷ *Die bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, Berlin, 1932.

⁸ *Die Kunst des zweiten Jahrtausends in Vorderasien (Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, viii, 1937, 103-60; ix, 1938, 1-79).

Progress is so rapid in the study of the ancient Near East that even the chronology of well-known periods may still be revolutionized. Using new inscriptional evidence from Mari, Thureau-Dangin has proved conclusively that Šamši-Adad I of Assyria and Hammurabi of Babylonia were contemporaries (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxxiv, 1937, 135-9). Albright holds that this synchronism necessitates a drastic reduction in the chronology of all Babylonian history prior to about 1500 B.C., giving us the following scheme (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 69, Feb. 1938, 18-21):

Beginning of the Early Dynastic Age	c. 3000 B.C.
Fara period	c. 28th century
Royal tombs of Ur	c. 27th century
Zur-Nanše	c. 2600
Dynasty of Akkad	c. 2500-2320
Third Dynasty of Ur	c. 2210-2100
Dynasties of Isin and Larsa	c. 2100-
First Dynasty of Babylon	c. 1970-1670

Poebel's forthcoming publication of the Khorsabad Assyrian king-list is bound to throw new light on the subject. Meanwhile, I follow Albright's chronology.

The seals known as 'North Syrian'¹ have an earlier beginning than is commonly thought. The goddess with raised hands (see § 2, below), found in Nos. 38, 41 (cf. No. 54), is prominent in Babylon I seals. On Nos. 53 and 54 (Nos. 51-4 [cf. No. 50], characterized by the use of dotted circles, are contemporary with North Syrian seals though actually they are of Assyrian provenance and resemble Kirkuk glyptics) appears a god like 'Amurru' (§ 1), who is associated with Babylon I art. The small jug (\pm 1600) on No. 37 is typical of the Middle Bronze Age (median date, 1700). Furthermore, the impression of a North Syrian seal has been found on a Middle Bronze jar,² so that North Syrian glyptics may accordingly begin as early as the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note that the impression on the jar portrays a hare, which is Egyptian (see Nos. 37, 44, &c.) rather than Mesopotamian, as are so many features of this group in contradistinction to contemporary Assyrian art from Assur and Kirkuk. North Syrian glyptics were, for the most part, brought into being by a fusion of Egyptian and Old Assyrian elements, but how late the style persisted is hard to determine, and tentatively we may set its close somewhere after the end of the fifteenth century. Some definite solutions for the chronological problems of North Syrian art may be supplied in the near future when Dr. McEwan and Professor Ingholt publish seals of this class from stratified excavations, but so far the published material has come from dealers and hence nothing is known about exact provenance.

The heroes depicted on Western Asiatic seals frequently wear belts, even when they are otherwise unclad (cf. Nos. 6-9, 30, 55, 88, &c.), and it is therefore likely that the belt may serve a purpose other than that of dress.

¹ i.e. Moortgat's 'nordsyrisch'; often called 'Syro-Hittite'.

² A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs* (&c.), Cairo, 1936, pl. xxvi, S. 4.

The clue is provided by No. 9, where Enkidu conveniently finds belts on the 'bull of heaven' for applying a wrestling grip, and it follows that the ancient Mesopotamians practised belt-wrestling—that is to say, the contestants wore belts on which the holds were taken much as in the *glima* of Iceland and *Schwingen* of Switzerland. When I communicated my explanation of the belt to Professor Albright, he checked my theory by the statuette of the wrestlers from Khafaji (Speiser, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 67, Oct. 1937, 5, Fig. 4), where each combatant is clearly gripping the belt of the other, and so my thesis is confirmed. It is conceivable (though the point ought not to be pressed) that prominent belts fastened to garments (cf. Nos. 91, 92, 96, 114, 120) are sometimes meant for use in wrestling, as are the stout girdles worn with the Swiss *Schwinghosen*.

We must bear in mind the possible discrepancy between the date of the theme of a seal and the time of execution of the particular seal (see Nos. 6–10); the glyptologist must cope with archaizing tendencies and imitations. The question of fakes is much the same. A modern fake with no resemblance to ancient Mesopotamian art will naturally not be included in this study, but a well-copied fake of an unpublished original is of definite value, pending the publication of the original. The reader should, of course, be warned that the seal in question may well be a forgery. I do not think, however, that the scholar should take it on himself to decide with finality that such and such a monument is a modern imitation without value, for a peculiar seal may belong to a little known or totally unknown category, and it may be only a matter of time until the suspected seal will prove to be genuine with copious analogues. Furthermore, an actual fake may be one of a long series manufactured by an active forger and it does the field a service to have the type exposed, and for these reasons I have included some seals that I suspect of being faked.

In order to facilitate cross references to recurring features, I append the following list of selected elements with the numbers of the seals on which they are found:

- § i. 'Amurru': 13–15, 17–19, 27; cf. 24, 25, 28, 53, 54.
- § ii. Goddess with raised hands: 11, 13–15, 18, 19, 25, 27, 28, 38, 41, 54.
- § iii. Nude goddess: 36, 38–41, 47.
- § iv. Ahuramazda: 107, 119; cf. Assur¹ in 105.
- § v. Gilgamesh: 8, 18, 22, 30, 55; cf. 7, 85.
- § vi. Achaemenian hero: 106–8, 122.
- § vii. Archers: 79, 88, 95, 108.
- § viii. Birds: 8, 32, 36–8, 44, 48, 52, 61, 68, 81, 91, 93.
- § ix. Horses: 32, 79, 85, 86, 92, 108.
- § x. Fish: 8, 16, 51, 52, 82, 93, 94, 98.
- § xi. Heads of men and animals: 16, 35, 36, 40, 51, 53, 59, 66, 67.
- § xii. Winged men and gods: 41, 42, 44, 49, 55, 59, 60, 63, 90, 91, 94.
- § xiii. Sphinxes: 30, 37, 41, 47, 48, 68, 89, 90, 91, 93, 102, 107.
- § xiv. Winged lions: 107, 114, 122; with bird's hind quarters (including tail): 6, 23, 96.
- § xv. Griffin (winged, bird-headed quadruped): 40, 45, 48, 51–3, 65, 66, 95, 99, 100.

¹ The similar appearance of the two gods is attributed to the phonetic resemblance between *Asura (> Ahura) and Assur.

- § xvi. Trees and shrubs: 32, 33, 94, 97, 106, 112, 119, 121.
 § xvii. Stylized tree:¹ 32, 48, 49, 54, 76, 80, 87, 104, 106.
 § xviii. Chairs: 11, 12, 25, 29, 34-7, 42, 43, 59, 60, 80-2, 110.
 § xix. Altars: 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 104, 108.
 § xx. Pots: 9 (cf. 14), 10, 12, 17, 21, 34, 53, 84.
 § xxi. Crescent: 12, 13, 20, 38, 43, 76, 80, 81, 84, 88, 92-4, 98, 102, 104, 110, 111, 118, 123, 124.
 § xxii. Star: 2, 8, 19, 22, 33, 34, 37, 38, 44, 45, 62, 75, 80, 81, 88, 92, 96, 98, 104, 105, 110, 116, 117, 123, 124.
 § xxiii. Rosette-star: 17, 18,² 22, 23, 52, 59, 60, 63, 67.
 § xxiv. Star over crescent: 11, 36, cf. 38, 42, 44.
 § xxv. Star in disk over crescent: 10, 15, 16, 34, 35; cf. 29, 38.
 § xxvi. Winged disk: 32, 46-8, 55, 76, 83, 87, 91, 92, 104, 106, 107, 113.
 § xxvii. Sibitti (7 drilled dots): 81, 83, 84, 92, 97, 98; cf. 73, 80.
 § xxviii. Forked lightning: 23-5.
 § xxix. 'Loop standard': 9, 10, 12, 17-20, 34, 36, 37, 44, 53; cf. 84.
 § xxx. 'Eye':³ 36, 55, 83, 92-4, 98, 115, 116.
 § xxxi. Ankh-sign: 37, 38, 44, 47.
 § xxxii. Symbols of Nabu (?) and Marduk (?): 80-3, 98, 104; cf. 112; on beast's back: 105, 111, 119.
 § xxxiii. Twisted rope design: 30, 37-9, 41, 45, 48, 66, 67, 72.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS

<i>Seal number</i>	<i>Period or type</i>	<i>Approximate date</i>
1	Jamdet Nasr	3300-3000 B.C.
2	Earlier Ur Cemetery	± 2700
3-5	Akkad	2500-2320
6-10	Ur III and Isin-Larsa representations of Akkadian themes	2200-2000
11-12	Ur III—Babylon I	2100-1900
13-30	Babylon I	1970-1670
31-33	Kassite	1600-1100
34-35	Old Assyrian	2000-1850
36	Transition	± 1800
37-58	North Syrian and contemporary ⁴	1800-1400
59-68	East Mediterranean	1600-1300
69-74	Hittite	1450-1200
75	Late 2nd mill. Syrian	± 1200
76, 79, 85 ⁵	Middle Assyrian	1300-1100
99-102	Late 2nd mill. Mesopotamian	1200-1000
77-78	Early 1st mill. Syrian	1000-900
80-84, 86, 97, 103	Late Assyrian	1000-612
98, 104-105	Neo-Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders	612-538
106-109	Achaemenian cylinders	538-331
110-120	Neo-Babylonian and Assyrian stamps	612-538
122	Achaemenian stamp	538-351
121	Parthian stamp	248 B.C.-227 A.D.
123-124	Sassanian stamps	226-651
125-127	Greek imitations	?

¹ Cf. NELL PERROT, *L'Arbre sacré (Babyloniaca, xvii, 1937, pp. 1 ff.)*.

² Its position over a crescent here, suggests that it may stand for the starred disk (cf. § xxv).

³ Actually this may be a fertility symbol depicting the vulva; see No. 36 (next to the nude goddess).

⁴ Nos. 50-54 are North-Mesopotamian (= 'Kirkuk' seals).

⁵ I am indebted to Professor Herzfeld, who improved on my datings of Nos. 79, 85, 99-103, and 121, while this catalogue was in proof.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

1. (W[alters] A[rt] G[allery] 42.540.)¹ Polished tan marble stamp. The seal is in the shape of a reclining calf. The compactness is admirable, for only the head protrudes from the general mass. The gem-cutter has indicated the curved horns, ears, mouth, tail, a fore-leg and a hind leg; note also the sockets, into which eyes were inlaid, and a cross under each foot to indicate the hoof. The stone is pierced from the middle of the back to the middle of the belly.² This type of seal is regularly marked by good execution of the animal forming the seal, and by inferior workmanship of the scene to be stamped. The scene here consists of five large, long-tailed quadrupeds, one in each corner and one towards the centre. Round and among them are tiny quadrupeds and other nondescript creatures. The animals' bodies are made with the drill, and, where the animals are large enough, their torsos tend to be made by drilling three overlapping circles, which is the characteristic representation of animal bodies in the Jamdet Nasr period.

2. (WAG C65). Plaster impression of cylinder. The central figure is a nude hero with upright locks, who stands between a rampant bull (to the left) and a deer (?) that has long, curved horns. These animals look back toward the characteristically heavy-maned, gaping lions which attack them. On the lion that bites the bull's head can be seen the hair on the belly (shown by hatching). Another nude hero grasps this lion's long, raised tail, over which is a six-pointed star (see § xxii). In front of each hero is an elongated space-filler. Period of Earlier Ur Cemetery.³

3. (WAG 42.434). Lapis lazuli cylinder. Crossed, gaping lions attack each a rampant deer. Between the lions' heads is a crescent mounted on a stand which is depicted by a vertical line over two horizontal lines. The lions' fore-paws are conventionalized to three parallel lines. The stag on the left looks back at the rampant leopard which also attacks him. The ibex (or wild goat) looks up helplessly with open mouth as if bellowing with fear. To relieve the monotony of exact antithesis, the artist has represented one lion as biting his victim's neck, but the other lion, not; and has one lion's tail appearing between the legs, while the other's is behind both legs. The general scene is common to the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods. The leopard's head is made in the outline style of Early Dynastic art, but, on the other hand, the grimness and reality of the combat indicate Akkadian art.⁴

4. (WAG 42.436). Shell cylinder. The 'Kish' hero (i.e. nude, bearded man with shoulder-length hair and flat cap) stands between and holds two (identical?) rampant ibexes, each of which looks back at the rampant, gaping lion that attacks it. The slightly curved, upright tails of the lions artistically limit the scene. The Kish hero is found only on seals from the time of the

¹ Dimensions need not be given because the photographs are very nearly actual size.

² All the seals in this collection are pierced.

³ Cf. LEGRAIN *apud* WOOLLEY, *Ur Excavations*, II,

1934, pls. 195 ff., Nos. 46, 73, 74.

⁴ See E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I³, 506, and FRANKFORT, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 16, 1933, 40-6.

Later Ur Cemetery and Akkadian period (the technique is very similar in both periods).

5. (WAG 42.427). Shell cylinder. Two rampant lions, whose tails limit the scene as in No. 4, attack an ibex (on right) and a mouflon (?) which stand rampant, horns to horns and rump to rump. This is a badly engraved Akkadian seal.

6. (WAG C64). Plaster impression of cylinder. There are three pairs of upright figures. First pair: a naked hero holds a bull upside down by the tail and a hind leg. Second pair: a winged lion with the hindquarters of a bird (§ xiv) bites the head of a deer. Under the deer, which is off the ground and looks behind it, are ten drilled dots which may depict (rather than mountainous land) the dung expelled from terror.¹ Third pair: a lion bites the head of a deer that looks behind. The lion's mane (unlike that of winged lion) is represented like flounces (cf. Nos. 11-17, &c.). In all three groups hatching indicates the hair, feathers, and musculature of the animals. The theme is, for the most part, Akkadian, although the workmanship is probably later.

7. (WAG C63). Plaster impression of cylinder. There are three groups of upright figures (cf. No. 6). The left group is a lion biting the upper jaw of a male (bovine?) quadruped that looks back at his attacker. The middle group consists of a nude, long-haired, long-bearded hero wearing only a belt, who seizes a lion by the neck and a fore-paw. The right pair is a lion attacked in front by Enkidu and behind by Gilgamesh. Both heroes wear triple belts. Enkidu is classically depicted as a bull below the waist and a man above the waist, except for bull's horns and ears. His body is a profile, but his well-bearded face looks to the front. He grasps the lion by the neck and a fore-paw. Gilgamesh, who, like Enkidu, is naked, has a long beard, and grips the lion's tail with a hand and leg. His head would hardly have been drawn thus by a third millennium artist, since Gilgamesh regularly faces front (not in profile as here, see § v), and furthermore, his three side curls are misunderstood and placed behind the head. Nor does the hero in the middle group look genuine. I am therefore inclined to consider this seal a partly accurate imitation of an original, of which the theme and date of execution are similar to those of No. 6. Note that the lions' manes and the hair of the victim in the left pair are closely paralleled in No. 6.²

8. (WAG 42.425.) Haematite cylinder. Between two eight-pointed stars (§ xxii) is Gilgamesh (§ v) typically delineated, wearing only a heavy belt and standing with body in profile, but his (shoulders and) bearded face in front view, so that the three curls on either side are visible. His muscles are effectively emphasized by deep cutting. He pulls away the rampant lion which bites the head of a kneeling hero, grasping the lion by the head and tail, and steps on a haunch. The kneeling hero wears a dress with crossed shoulder straps and a double belt. On the left is another rampant gaping lion menacing

¹ Cf. Sennacherib's *Taylor Prism*, col. vi, line 21
DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, Leipzig, 1912, 75).

² [Herzfeld informs me that my objections to the authenticity of this seal are not insurmountable.]

the hero. The manes are engraved as flounces (see Nos. 6, 7). Three birds (§ viii), two of which look backwards, and a fish (§ x) fill the field. The scene is Akkadian, but the treatment is not standard. The birds resemble those commonly found on Ur III seals and perhaps this seal is (a later imitation [?] of) an Ur III representation of an Akkadian theme.

9. (WAG C18.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Enkidu (see No. 7), vanquishing the rampant 'bull of heaven', is repeated antithetically.¹ He seizes the bull by the throat, and with the other hand is about to grip the belt around its belly, and to facilitate the hero's victory the bull has two triple belts, one round the belly and one under the front shoulders. Enkidu and the bull have identical heads. The engraver has taken pains to show the muscles of the haunch and the bristles on the tails. Between the antithetic groups is an encased pot (§ xx) on a fluted stand (however, cf. No. 14). Between the left pair is a pot (§ xx); between the right pair, a 'loop standard' (§ xxix). Over a walking quadruped in miniature is the legend: *'UTU* (2) *'A-A*, 'Samaš, Aya' (the Sun-god and his wife). The scene is of Akkadian origin, as is also the device of the miniature quadruped under the inscription, but the workmanship is of Ur III date or later.

10. (WAG C39.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Two pairs of rampant beasts form antithetic combats. On the left a gaping lion attacks a mouflon (?). On the right a gaping lion with the wings, tail, and hind parts of a bird (§ xiv) attacks a victim similar to the one on the left. The muscles on the victims haunches are indicated, while the strokes on their bellies may be ribs or multiple belts (cf. No. 9); the latter being suggested by the fact that the lion on the left is seizing the belt (?), and also the victim on the right has a neck belt (?) by which he is being seized. The 'neck belt' (or collar) of the left victim is not visible, because the seal was not pressed hard enough when the impression was made. The scene is delimited by the legend: *'UTU* (2) *'A-A*, 'Samaš, Aya'. Above is a star in a disk (sun) over a crescent (moon); cf. § xxv. Between the antithetic groups are a pot (§ xx) and a 'loop standard' (§ xxix). The theme and date of execution are the same as for No. 9.

11. (WAG 42.189.) Lapis lazuli cylinder with white quartz veins; its gold roller is possibly modern. A bearded god wearing a flat cap sits on a covered chair (§ xviii). His long robe with bordered top and bottom opens down the front and is suspended from the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare and free. He salutes a bearded, flat-capped worshipper, who returns the salute and wears a robe much like the god's. A flounced-robed goddess, whose divinity is indicated by a many-horned crown, raises her hands in intercession and blessing (§ ii). From the mural paintings of Mari² we now know that the flounced robe was many-coloured. Before the god is an eight-pointed star within a crescent (§ xxiv). Inscription: *IN-ZU-ZU DUP-SAR* (2) *DUMU A-AG-GA-NA* (3) *ÊR 'NÊ-IRÍ-GAL*, 'Inzuzu, the scribe, son of Aggan(a), servant of Nergal'. The scene is essentially of Ur III

¹ Cf. DE CLERCQ, No. 68 and MENANT, *La Haye*, 1878, pl. III, no. 11.

² See *Syria*, XVIII, 1937, pl. XXXIX (opposite p. 336).

inspiration, but the workmanship may possibly be as late as Babylon I, when the goddess with the raised hands most frequently occurs.

12. (WAG C12=C13.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A goddess wearing a many-horned crown and a long flounced robe hung from the left shoulder (cf. No. 11) is seated on a chair (§ xviii) with her feet resting on a low platform, holding a goblet (?) in her right hand. Two men with low, round hats on their heads and wearing long robes suspended from their left shoulders stand before her. The engraver shows clearly that the left arms of the goddess and men are covered to the wrist. The man nearest the goddess folds his hands in reverence, while the other man raises his right hand, hailing the goddess. Before the goddess is a crescent (§ xxi) and a squat monkey (cf. No. 44). Between the men is a pot (§ xx) and a 'loop standard' (§ xxix). Inscription: *Du(?) -ma-qum* (2) *mâr na-bi-^dEN-ZU* (3) *warad ^dMAR-TU*, 'Dumâqum (?), son of Nabi-Sin, servant of Amurru'. The seal is of an Ur III type, but the workmanship, like the script, may be transitional between Ur III and Babylon I.

13. (WAG 42.437.) Haematite cylinder. Reception scene. A long-bearded god (of 'Amurru' type, see § 1) stands on the right. He wears a crown of many horns and a long, vertically pleated robe fastened with a triple belt, holds a notched dagger (like that often held by Šamaš), and rests a foot on a foot-rest. The leg protruding from the opening in the front of the robe shows part of the short undergarment, whose texture is represented by cross-hatching. A cross-hatching with fewer horizontal lines may possibly indicate long stockings. The god receives a long-bearded devotee, wearing a round turban and a dress like the men's in No. 12, who greets the god with a raised hand. Between him and the god is a crescent (§ xxi). To the left is the goddess with raised hands (§ ii). Inscription: *iš-me-^dEN-ZU* (2) *mâr warad-^dEN-ZU* (3) *wardum ša ^dEN-ZU*, 'Išmē-Sin, son of Warad-Sin, servant of Sin'. Babylon I.

14. (WAG C15.) Plaster impression of cylinder. On the right is 'Amurru' (§ i) somewhat different from the portrayal in No. 13. Here he has shoulder protrusions (now known from the Mari mural paintings¹) and his dress has crossed shoulder-straps (cf. No. 8) and sleeves to the elbow. He holds a throwing-stick (cf. No. 33) in one hand and a lyre-like object in the other (however, cf. No. 9), and wears a sword by his side. His foot-rest is a miniature beast (? turtle or toad?) which he holds by a cord tied to its mouth (see No. 24). Here 'Amurru' faces front, though his body is in profile. He greets a worshipper dressed in the short Amorite hunting-skirt with a pointed front, the latter holding a stick in one hand. Behind him is the goddess with the raised hands (§ ii), with two bracelets visible on her left wrist. It should be noted that here, as in most of these seals (see Nos. 11-19, &c.), the shoulders tend to be in front view, even when the rest of the figure is in profile. The only frequent exception is the goddess, whose raised hands forced a different technique on the gem cutters. Inscription: *^dNIN-ŠUBUR*

¹ See preceding note.

(2) *KA-KÙ GÛ-DI-DI* (3) *URÛ AD-ḪAL AN-GAL-LA*, 'Ilabrat, who speaks with a pure mouth, keeping the secret of great heaven'.

15. (WAG C16.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A worshipper offers a kid to 'Amurru'. The god (§ i) is represented as in No. 13; so, too, the worshipper's clothing. Behind the worshipper stands the goddess with raised hands (§ ii), and behind her is a man wearing a round turban and a hunting costume (cf. No. 14) and holding a throwing-stick. Perhaps the line hanging from his left elbow is a rope. Behind 'Amurru' is an attendant with a bare, shaven head standing on a double platform and holding a nail (i) in one hand and a basket in the other, and behind him is a throwing-stick. Between the god and worshipper is a four-pointed star in a disk over a crescent (§ xxv). Between the worshipper and the goddess is a 'horse-head' standard fixed in the ground.

16. (WAG C14.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Offering scene. On the right is a bearded god holding a ring in his right hand. A bearded devotee in a round turban offers a kid to the god (cf. No. 15). Behind the devotee is another god with folded hands, and behind the latter stands a goddess raising one hand (cf. § ii). Her face and shoulders are in front view, and she has a curl on either side of the head. All the deities are marked as such by the crown of many horns, and all the four personages wear the flounced robe. The male characters have their right shoulder bare, but both the shoulders of the goddess are covered. Between the characters are the following space-filling symbols: a six-pointed star in a disk over a crescent (§ xxv); a tortoise; a human-headed creature with the fore-legs of a lion and the body and tail of a fish, wearing a many-horned crown (body in profile, face front); inverted lotus (? cf. Nos. 105, 119); a human head in profile (§ xi); a fish (§ x); a gaping lion with fish's tail and body; another fish (?); a human bearded head facing front, and wearing a crown of many horns (§ xi); a grinning, grotesque head (of Humbaba?) facing front (§ xi).

17. (WAG C6.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Double scene of reception and offering. On the left is a worshipper in a turban and a long gown with rounded corners which opens in front and leaves the right shoulder bare. He offers a kid to 'Amurru' (§ i). Between the god and worshipper are a crouching quadruped and a 'loop standard' (§ xxix). To the far right is the turbaned devotee of the other scene clasping his hands and wearing a long, simple gown buttoned (?) down the front. He faces a god, who wears a flounced robe and holds up a pot in a holder in one hand and grasps a throwing-stick in the other (cf. no. 14). Between the god and the devotee are a rosette-star (§ xxiii) and a lotus (? cf. no. 16), and between the gods' heads is a pot (§ xx). All the characters have a knot of hair on the neck. The drill has been used extensively, e.g. on 'Amurru's' foot-rest, the rosette-star, and the stylized horned crowns of both gods. This group of seals (nos. 17-19) is a stylization of classical Babylon I seals (cf. nos. 13-15) and must therefore post-date the latter; perhaps Nos. 17-19 date from the second half of Babylon I.

18. (WAG C₄=C₅.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Offering scene. 'Amurru' and the worshipper who brings a kid are much the same as in No. 17. The goddess with the raised hands (§ ii) has a different appearance here because her gown is simplified to a plain dress with a double hem along the base. Behind 'Amurru' is an attendant (cf. No. 15) with clasped hands, his dress being like that worn by the man on the far right in No. 17. Behind him is Gilgamesh (§ v), whose distinguishing features (see No. 8) are preserved in spite of the stylization. In the space are a rosette-star (this time over a crescent), a crouching quadruped, a pot (indicated by two drillings), and a 'loop standard' (with a mace head on either end?), all much as in No. 17. The vertical line of drillings in front of Gilgamesh is difficult (= a stream of water ?¹).

19. (WAG C₉.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Double scene resembling No. 17. The left pair is a worshipper offering a kid (highly stylized by drill technique) to 'Amurru' (§ i) with one hand, and saluting with the other. To the right is the goddess with raised hands (§ ii) facing another figure wearing a long, flounced robe. In the space are a star made by six lines radiating from a central drilling (§ xxii), a 'loop standard' (§ xxix), and an emblem (between the heads of the left pair) too faint for identification.

20. (WAG C₆₈.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Two deities introduce a worshipper to Adad, the storm-god, each of the three gods being crowned with a pair of horns. Adad wears a double belt (with a short skirt?, cf. No. 23) and stands on a crouching lion, placing one foot on its back and one on its head. He extends a notched sword (?) in his right hand and holds a mace over his shoulder in his left. The introducing deities, who wear flounced robes, raise both hands, and behind them is the worshipper clad and posing like those in Nos. 12 and 13. The space is completely filled by a crescent (§ xxi), a 'loop standard' (§ xxix), and four 'bandy-legged' men (cf. No. 21), whose bodies are in front view, but their faces in profile. Their round turbans are marked with slanting lines; their hands are raised as if in boxing; each wears a double belt, and their genitals hang down prominently between their bent and widely separated knees.

21. (WAG C₆₇.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Three naked men walk in single file, keeping the left hand on the waist. Those on the ends hold something in their right hands, while the one in the middle (whose double belt is visible) salutes by raising his right hand. Behind them is a 'bandy-legged' man like those in No. 20, except that his hands are clasped. Under him is a manikin in a long gown, whose pose is like that of the large central character. All the personages wear caps with slanting markings.

22. (WAG C₄₀=C₄₁.) This seal is rolled up and down; not from side to side. Gilgamesh's (§ v) conventional features are modified, but not obliterated by the drill technique (cf. No. 18). What he holds in his hands may be the pendant from his necklace (but cf. No. 18). A devotee, clad in a long dress and saluting with one hand, reaches in height only to Gilgamesh's waist.

¹ Cf. VAN BUREN, *Flowing Vase*, Berlin, 1933.

The pole with five dots on either side is a kind of standard or perhaps a stylized tree (§§ xvi, xvii). On one side of Gilgamesh is an eight-pointed star (§ xxii) much like that in No. 19; on the other is a rosette-star (§ xxiii); cf. No. 8.

23. (WAG C72.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Adad stands on the back of a walking humped bull (cf. Nos. 38, 123) and holds the emblem of forked lightning (§ xxviii) in one hand and an object of doubtful identity (but cf. No. 24) in the other. He is clad in a short skirt and crowned with a pair of horns (cf. No. 20). A pair of winged lions with bird's hind-quarters (§ xiv) stand rampant in antithetic arrangement round an emblematic pole, which they hold with both fore-paws, and the thinness of the two beasts is a very definite mark of their stylization. The pole, set in earth which is indicated by drillings, is topped by a rosette-star (§ xxiii). The bottom of the scene is marked with two rows of dots between three horizontal lines.

24. (WAG C66.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The main scene is a bearded worshipper saluting a god. The god's dress and pose are 'Amurru's' (§ i), but his foot-rest is Adad's bull (see No. 23), and he holds Adad's forked lightning (§ xxviii) and a cord tied to the bull's mouth or nose (cf. No. 14) in one hand, and a dagger in the other. The subsidiary scene is in two registers separated by a line. Above, a rampant winged lion with bird's hind-quarters (§ xiv) attacks a deer from behind and bites his head. Below, a lion is about to bite an antlered stag.

25. (WAG C 17.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A god sits (in Ur III fashion) on a covered chair (§ xviii) set on a platform. He wears a round turban and a long robe with heavy, rolled edges, and his position in sitting raises part of the robe, showing a petticoat. This feature is suspicious, because short under-breeches were the fashion (e.g. No. 13). The questionable object in his hand may be due to the counterfeiter's misunderstanding of a disk and crescent over a goblet (cf. No. 29). A shaven-headed worshipper in a long robe stands before the god with clasped hands. The goddess with raised hands (§ ii) anachronistically wears a jacket; cf. the jacket of Ahuramazda (§ iv) and the 'Achaemenian hero' (§ vi). Behind her is the most genuine part of the scene; to wit, a bull with the emblem of forked lightning (§ xxviii) with a fluted handle (cf. No. 9) on his back. A spurious, horned-crowned goddess, whose pose is like 'Amurru's' (§ i) offers the bull an ear of corn. This seal is a composite imitation with most of the elements taken from Ur III and Babylon I art.

26. (WAG C20.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A lone figure in profile (crudely engraved with drillings for the globular headgear, eye, cheek, chignon, buttocks, and ankles) raises both hands (three fingers are indicated on each hand) as if blessing the inscription. Cf. § ii (?). The figure is clothed in a simple robe with a triple hem at the base. Legend: *qí-iš-ti-⁴mar[duk]* (?) (2) *išip ⁴AN-[]* (3) *mâr gi-mil-⁴na-na-a* (4) *warad sa-am-su-di-ta-na*, 'Qišti-Mar[duk] (?)', priest of (the god) [], son of Gimil-Nanâ, servant of

Samsuditana'. The importance of this seal lies in the fact that it is datable to the reign of Samsuditana (c. 1700-1670), the last king of Babylon I. It follows that about his time simple inscribed seals with free space (cf. Kassite seals, *passim*) were made with the aid of the drill.

27. (WAG C38.) Plaster impression of cylinder. 'Amurru' (? see § i), clad in the hunting-costume (see No. 14), is stylized by a late Babylon I technique. The lines on his hat may possibly be intended for simplified crown horns. He holds a mace in his right hand and faces the goddess with the raised hands (§ ii). A crescent (§ xxi) is between them. Legend: *ib-ni-^dištar* (2) *mâr e-ri-ib-^dEN-ZU* (3) *warad ^dEN-ZU*, 'Ibni-Ištar, son of Erîb-Sin, servant of Sin'. The free space, the use of the drill (note especially the vertical drilling to show the form of the goddess's torso and leg), the prominence of the inscription, &c., point to a date approximately the same as for No. 26.

28. (WAG C19.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The attitude of the character on the left is that of the goddess with the raised hands (§ ii). The other two figures are bearded males, the one on the right saluting the other, who carries a throwing-stick. All three wear long gowns and round hats with brims (= stylized horned mitres?; cf. No. 27). The inscription is unintelligible: *AN ŠU* (2) *MU MU* (3) *MU KA MU*.¹

29. (WAG C 69.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A seated (§ xviii) god (on a platform), wearing a long gown and a crown with two pairs of horns, welcomes his worshippers. He holds a cup (? cf. No. 12) out in his right hand. Behind him is a snake; before him kneels a manikin in a turban, who salutes the god with an uplifted hand. Behind the manikin two worshippers raise each a hand to greet the god. They wear longish gowns that have rounded edges and an opening in front, their gowns and turbans being marked with slant lines (cf. Nos. 12, 20, &c.). In front of the god is a cross (= star?) made by two pairs of parallel lines within a disk over a crescent (§ xxv). To the left a man stands before a standard, which is on the back of a crouching quadruped.

30. (WAG C60.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The central figure is Gilgamesh (§ v). To the left are animals; to the right, mythical creatures. The upper pair of animals sit antithetically with bodies toward each other, but facing backward, with curved horns, manes, and long ears, and their tails, curiously, have three terminations. Below these animals is a falling gazelle (?). The lower pair is composed of a gaping lion seizing an antlered stag rampant (cf. No. 24). On the upper right is a 'Hathoroid' head between two galloping human-headed bulls (cf. No. 9). Beneath them is a pair of Gilgamesh figures, who are running away from each other in antithetic arrangement. Below are two seated sphinxes (human-headed winged lions; cf. § xiii) facing each other. To the right is a vertical row of ten human

¹ The fact that an inscription is meaningless does not necessarily imply that it is a modern forgery. It is possible that 'ancient fake' inscriptions were sometimes palmed off on unsuspecting

customers. Indeed, in some cases it would also seem that inscriptions have been forged on otherwise genuine seals.

heads (§ xi), and still farther to the right are three well-marked vertical registers, viz., a twisted rope design (§ xxxiii), twelve quadrupeds running in alternate directions, and three rampant deer looking back. Nearly all the animals have triple rings about their necks. The 'Hathoroid' head and the sphinxes betray Egyptian influence. This seal stands between the art of Babylon I and the 'North Syrian'.

31. (WAG 42.428.) Cylinder of vein breccia (probably composed of haematite and jasper). The bearded figure in profile, wearing a low cap and a long gown which opens down the front, raises a hand and faces the inscription (cf. No. 26) which is difficult. Line 1 probably contains the owner's name. Line 2 opens with *DUMU* (? = *mār* 'son') *HU* (?). Line 3 seems to read *Ša LUGAL*(?)*-ma*, 'of the king'(?). Line 4 is rather clearly *a-mi-il*, 'man'. Line 5 begins with *AN ŠU* (= *ili-šu* 'his god?'). Line 6 is *mim¹-ma ú-ul*, 'anything not'. Line 7 looks like *i-ma-ad*(?)*-di*(?)*-šu*, 'he will —?—him'. Though neither the reading nor the interpretation is clear, the legend seems to be Akkadian (not Sumerian). This seal, with its long inscription and lone figure, is typically Kassite.

32. (WAG 42.490.) Obsidian (or basalt glass?) cylinder with concave side and ends. A horse or unicorn (§ ix) is about to jump on a bird (§ viii), and a man much like the one in No. 31 salutes a stylized tree (§ xvii). There is also a cluster of trees including a palm, a weeping willow (?), and some shrubs (§ xvi). Over the horse (or unicorn?) is a winged disk (§ xxvi); under him a shrub. By the stylized tree is a cross duplicated on Kassite monuments.²

33. (WAG C74.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A hunter, naked to the waist, wears a short skirt and shoes. He is about to hurl a throwing-stick at two deer with long, curved horns, antithetically rampant over a thicket (§ xvi). Each deer, holding a sprig in its mouth and looking backwards, has a double belt. Between them is a star like that in Nos. 19, 22. The drill is used to show the chest and other features of the hunter, for filling the field, and between the two cuneiform signs: *DINGIR DINGIR*.²

34. (WAG 42.412.) Haematite cylinder. A long-bearded god, wearing a round turban with slanting markings, sits on a covered chair (§ xviii) and holds out a goblet (?) as a gesture of welcome to three deities crowned with a pair of horns, who raise both hands in salute. Only three fingers are indicated on each hand (cf. No. 26). The field is filled with a star in a disk over a crescent (§ xxv), an eight-pointed star (§ xxii), two 'loop standards' (§ xxix), and three dots and two pots (§ xx) made with the drill. The auxiliary scene is in two registers. Above, are two deities (like the three in the main scene) standing on either side of a lace-like symbol (= tree?), the one on the left folding his hands, the other saluting him with one hand. Below is a standing bull, of which the body has vertical markings, with a 'ladder emblem' over him and a scorpion before him. All the deities in both scenes are dressed in flounced robes, and the chair is covered with flounced stuff. The seated god's

¹ For this value of *SAL*, cf. I. Gelb, *A.J.S.L.*, LIII, 186, No. 262.

² Nos. 32 and 33 are probably of Western origin and date from about 1500 B.C.

robe covers one shoulder, while the minor deities are nude to the waist. In all details this is a classical Old Assyrian (= 'Cappadocian') seal.

35. (WAG C71.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A seated god, crowned with a pair of horns and dressed in a long gown, is offered a kid (?) by a man clad like the worshipper in No. 29. A manikin is at the god's feet (cf. No. 29), a plough (?) behind the god's head. Behind the man is a pair of crossed quadrupeds (cf. No. 67), one (at least) of which having horns. A turbaned human head (§ xi) is underneath them. Over them stands a bull surrounded by seven drillings above (cf. § xxvii) and one below it. Under his head is a turbaned human head (§ xi). To the right a man (like the other man) stands on a crouching, gaping lion.

36. (WAG C57.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Presentation scene. A bearded god, wearing a turban with slanting markings and a flounced robe supported by shoulder-straps, sits on a chair (§ xviii) holding a palm branch (?; cf. No. 37) on his shoulder with his left hand. He welcomes his company by raising his right hand (with a goblet?). A seated manikin plays a lyre at the god's feet. The manikin wears a turban like that of the god and a long robe with a decorated top edge which leaves the right shoulder bare. A goddess, in a short dress (held up by shoulder-straps) and horned mitre (conventionalized to a 'top-hat'; cf. Nos. 39, 55), holds up an elongated emblem in each hand (the emblem on the right has two short protrusions at right angles to the main shaft) and introduces a long-haired woman (= figure on left in No. 29), with a gown like that of the manikin, to the god. An eight-pointed star over a crescent (§ xxiv) and a 'loop standard' (§ xxix) are in the field. The ancillary scene is the nude goddess standing on a bull's back. Her head and feet are in profile as in Nos. 38-40. She wears a belt and a V-necklace. Her *pudendum* is accentuated, and she holds open a veil (or garland?). Above her are a bird (§ viii) (cf. the doves of Venus?), a human head (§ xi), and an 'eye' (§ xxx), which may actually be the female *pudendum*. The hats of the god and manikin have slanting markings. This seal is in some respects transitional between Babylon I and 'North Mesopotamian/Syrian' art.

37. (WAG 42.408.) Haematite cylinder. A long-haired woman holding a reed (fan) sits on a curved, low-backed chair (§ xviii) set on a plain platform. Note the attempt at perspective, whereby three legs of the chair are depicted. The woman is dressed in a long robe with fringed neck and base and an opening down the front (or side?). Behind her is a bearded attendant in a long gown which opens down the front where the edge is decorated so as to appear like a series of triangles. The top is fringed and a shoulder is left bare; cf. also the woman's dress. Before the woman is another woman in a long dress (its lower border like that of the first woman's robe) offering her a small, one-eared jug pointed at the base. In the field are an eight-pointed star (§ xxii), a partly effaced elongated object, a 'loop standard' (§ xxix), an *ankh* sign (§ xxx), a hare's head (?; cf. § xi), and a smaller hare's head (?). The minor scene is in three registers separated from one another by lines. Above are two birds (§ viii) flying antithetically on either side of an *ankh* sign. In the

middle is a twisted rope design (§ xxxiii). Below is a sitting sphinx (§ xiii), over whose back is a hare's head (?). The jug, which can be placed about ± 1600 B.C., dates the seal roughly.

38. (WAG 42.450.) Haematite cylinder. The nude goddess (§ iii) stands on a humped bull's back (cf. 23, 123) and faces two male persons who approach her from opposite directions. Her representation as a 'Janus' is doubtless conceptual, for she is known to have but one face (see Nos. 36, 39, 40). As usual, in 'North Syrian' art, she holds open her veil (or garland?). To the left is a long-bearded hero, wearing only a pointed, horned crown and a short fringed skirt, his hair falling on his back in a long queue. He holds up a stick in his right hand and grasps an adze (?) in his left. Behind him is the goddess with the raised hands (§ ii), whose stylized many-horned crown approximates a 'top-hat'. To the right is a bearded character clad in the costume regularly worn by men in these North Syrian seals; to wit, a robe reaching below the knees, opening in front (showing the underkilts), with well-rounded edges, and prominently fringed below and also above where one shoulder is bare; the hat is the round turban, in this case with slanting markings. The subsidiary scene is two manikins in profile (one raising a hand), wearing only long flounced skirts held up by double belts, who are separated by a twisted rope design (§ xxxiii) from the flying bird (§ viii) below. In the space are an *ankh* sign (§ xxxi), a crescent (§ xxi), a cross in a disk over a crescent (cf. § xxv) and two stars (§ xxii). Above and below are borders of twisted rope with a dot in each loop and a single line (cf. Nos. 39, 41, 45, 48) on either side of the rope design.

39. (WAG C52.) Plaster impression of cylinder. On the left is a god in a short skirt, who carries a mace in one hand and in the other extends a bow to a goddess. The latter wears a long flounced skirt and welcomes the god by raising a hand (cf. § ii and No. 16). Both have the 'top-hat' conventionalization of the horned crown (see Nos. 36, 38). Between them appears an altar (§ xix) with cakes (?). The nude goddess (§ iii) stands on the right. All three characters seem to have necklaces. The auxiliary scene is three marching, short-skirted manikins over three dotted twists of rope (§ xxxiii) above a lion pouncing on a sitting animal which looks backwards.

40. (WAG 42.407.) Haematite cylinder. The central figure is the nude goddess (§ iii). Two persons approach her, one on either side (cf. No. 38), the one on the left, whom she faces, wearing a conoidal, horned crown and a short dress. He hails the goddess with one hand and the artist, with consummate lack of skill, has him holding a crooked staff in the other. On the right is a bare-headed man in a short dress (both short dresses have a triple border below; cf. in No. 39). He holds an elongated object with a peculiar crest (= snake or lotus?), and in the field are an animal's head (§ xi), a hand (? cf. Nos. 41, 46), and a lotus. The subsidiary scene is a crouching griffin (§ xv) over a manikin, the latter being like those in No. 38, and his fingers, of which only the thumbs and index fingers are shown, because of the perspective, are disproportionately large.

41. (WAG 42.405.) Haematite cylinder. A deity (so because of the horns on his turban), with slender wings rising from his shoulders (§ xii), stands before an 'hour-glass' altar (§ xix). His (?) dress is long, with vertical pleats, a double border above the base and a double belt. The dress opens in front showing a heavily corrugated undergarment. He holds a lance in one hand, and behind him stands a small nude goddess (§ iii; without veil/garland) in a round turban, holding her breasts. Behind her is a personage (= a beardless man?) holding a throwing-stick, wearing a round turban and a gown much like that of the figure in No. 38 on the right. Here, however, the gown is somewhat longer, and a double belt is visible and the undergarment is like the winged deity's. On the left is inserted an ancillary scene of a crouching, gaping lion striking a crouching deer (?) with its paw above a twisted rope design (§ xxxiii) over a sitting, winged sphinx (§ xiii). To the left, but belonging to the main scene, is the goddess with the raised hands (§ ii). All the large characters wear double necklaces. In the space are a hand and a large pole-standard.

42. (WAG 42.424.) Haematite cylinder. Introduction scene. A bearded god, wearing a many-horned tiara and a long robe (with fringed top and bottom) which leaves the right shoulder bare, sits on a low-backed, curved chair (§ xviii). The god extends a goblet (?) in welcome. The introducer is represented conceptually as a 'Janus' (see No. 38) so as to face both parties but, unlike the goddess in No. 38, his feet point in opposite directions. He is bearded, wears a long, belted skirt with a fringed base, and holds a staff in each hand. The introduced character has wings like those in No. 41, a horned crown, and a double-belted skirt reaching below the knees. The upper part of the skirt has horizontal pleats and the lower, vertical pleats, the skirt opening in front to show the undergarment. He extends his right hand to salute the seated god and holds a short club (?) in his left. In front of the god are a disk over a crescent (cf. No. 61) and an altar (§ xix) with cakes (?).

43. (WAG C56.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A god welcomes a man. The god is on a throne (§ xviii) which has a lion's legs, and both the throne and the god's foot-rest are on a platform (for the god's dress, see Nos. 11, 12; for his turban, No. 11). He holds a crooked staff, and before him stands a long-horned wild goat rampant, looking backward. The horns are bound by two double bands (signifying that the animal is to be seized by the horns in combat?), and behind it is a man like the one to the right in No. 38. A bracelet is on the wrist of his right hand raised to salute the god. Note also his necklace. The subsidiary scene portrays two running hares (?) above, and a gaping lion about to strike an antlered stag below. All the animals except the stag are marked with many rings round the neck, and in the case of the lion they represent the heavy mane. In the instance of the goat they are the collar by which the man holds him.

44. (WAG C70.) Plaster impression of cylinder. In the cartouche is a short-haired hero with wings (cf. No. 41) who wears a short skirt. Before him is a squat monkey (see No. 12), and behind him a 'loop standard'

(§ xxix). Facing the cartouche is a second hero clad like the other and holding a spear, point down. Behind him is a short-haired manikin with prominent ears, in front view except for his feet, and he wears a long skirt and folds his hands. To the right is a woman with long hair (as in Nos. 29, 36), wearing a long, flounced skirt and raising one hand (cf. No. 39). All the skirts have vertical pleats. In the field are a disk in a crescent (see No. 42), a flying bird (§ viii), an eight-pointed star (§ xxii), and an *ankh*-sign (§ xxxi). All the figures and symbols are arranged with unusual symmetry.

45. (WAG 42.414.) Haematite cylinder. On both sides of a tripod altar (§ xix) with cakes on it stand men in long gowns, fringed at the top and base and leaving one shoulder bare. Each man folds his hands. (Their heads are somewhat reminiscent of those of Ikhnaton's period.) To the right is a long-haired woman holding a fan (?). Her left hand is unnaturally elongated to the ground (cf. manikin in No. 40), and in front of her is an incense burner. In the field over the cakes are a three-line symbol, an eight-pointed star (§ xxii), and a crescent (§ xxi). The ancillary scene is a sitting griffin (§ xv) raising a fore-paw over a twisted rope (§ xxxiii) above another sitting griffin.

46. (WAG 42.410.) Haematite cylinder. Banquet scene. Two beardless men in long robes sit in chairs like those in Nos. 37, 42 and hold cups. Between them is an 'hour-glass' table (§ xix) with cakes. The subsidiary scene is three long-skirted manikins (the first holds a staff) standing under a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi) beneath two hands.

47. (WAG 42.406.) Haematite cylinder. Offering scene. A bearded man dressed in a short skirt carries a kid on his shoulders to a nude goddess (§ iii; without veil/garland as in No. 41), wearing a double necklace and double bands above the knees, and folding her hands. The toes of her shoes are turned up as in No. 38 and many Hittite monuments (and as in modern Anatolia and Kurdistan), and her hair is tied in a knot. Behind her is a bearded man lifting one hand and wearing a long robe which opens down the front and has rounded, fringed edges. The curved line near him is probably one end of his belt. Touching the top of the goddess's head is a winged disk (§ xxvi), and in the field are two *ankh*-signs (§ xxxi). The auxiliary scene is two winged sphinxes (§ xiii), facing one another, over four long-skirted manikins, the first of whom raises one hand. Their skirts have fringed bases.

48. (WAG 42.411.) Haematite cylinder. Two men wearing long, belted skirts which open in front kneel on platforms (like that in No. 43) and hold standards on either side of a stylized tree (§ xvii), which is topped by a winged, crossed disk (§ xxvi). A bird (§ viii) with spread wings is on either side of the base of the tree. The subsidiary motif which overlaps the main scene consists of a flying bird and a galloping quadruped separated by a line, over a twisted rope (§ xxxiii) above a winged quadruped.

49. (WAG 42.409.) Haematite cylinder. A bearded hunter dressed like the man in No. 43 (cf. No. 38) holds a small antlered stag over his shoulder with one hand and with the other salutes a bearded hero, who grasps a staff.

The latter's dress has a fringed top and base, and leaves one shoulder bare, reaching below the knee, and is sharply pointed (cf. the relief from Ras Shamra reproduced [from a volume of *Syria* not accessible to me] in *Jaarbericht*, No. 5, *van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch gezelschap, Ex Oriente Lux*, 1937-8, pl. xxxiii, fig. 2). Both characters wear round turbans. The parallel scene has two fighting lions with manes as in No. 43, one having a fore-paw on the head of the other which is about to spring. On the back of each lion kneels a winged, human-bodied (§ xii) genius, the necks of both being maned like the lions. The one on the left has a lion's head, but the details of the other's head are not clear. The left one wears a long skirt which opens in front and has a fringed border. He folds his hands. The one on the right wears a long, belted, vertically pleated skirt opening down the front and suspended from a shoulder strap. He lifts one hand toward the stylized tree (§ xvii).

50. (WAG C51.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The main scene consists of two nude figures holding a conventionalized tree (?; cf. §§ xvi, xvii). The extensive use of the drill has greatly affected the style of this artistically inferior seal. Three dots form the foliage and one dot marks the base of the tree (?). The (female?) figure on the left has a full head of hair gathered on the top and the back of the head. The (male?) figure on the right is kneeling, and his coiffure is designated by three dots on the top of his head. The ancillary theme consists of six overlapping double circles and a distorted lion (?) biting its prey. In the space are five dots.

51. (WAG C53.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A wild goat, couchant and looking backward, is attacked from before and behind by two lions. Above are eight dotted circles connected by lines (the use of dotted circles distinguishes the North Mesopotamian sub-group Nos. 50-4). Between the registers, and overlapping the repeated scenes, is a griffin (§ xv). Dotted circles represent the eyes of all the animals, and jaws, knees, paws, hooves, ends of tails, &c., are indicated by dots. In the field are a straight-horned animal's head (§ xi), one (or two?) fish (§ x), a dotted circle, and many dots of varying size.

52. (WAG C54.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A bearded hero, wearing a long, vertically pleated dress and a round turban, holds a staff. Over his head are a flying bird (§ viii), a fish (§ x), and (by the latter) six dots forming a 'Y'. Under his staff is a rosette-star (§ xxiii). The other scene is in three registers: above, a griffin (§ xv) is about to attack a wild goat; below, a lion is pouncing on another goat, the two groups running in opposite directions. In both cases the prey looks backwards (cf. *passim*). The middle register is the connected, dotted-circle design as in Nos. 51, 53. There is some overlapping of the scenes; note the staff, rosette-star, bird, and 'Y'; cf. No. 51.

53. (WAG C55.) Plaster impression of cylinder. 'Amurru' (stylized; see § i) receives a worshipper. With 'Amurru's' emblem, cf. that in No. 14. The worshipper, who is clad much like the man in No. 41 (though the artist here gives much less detail), raises one hand to hail the god. By his neck are

two tassels, and to the left stands the mediating priest (?) with folded hands, wearing a long robe which covers one shoulder. In the space is the head of a long-horned animal (cf. No. 51). The intrusive scene (cf. No. 41) in three registers consists of a griffin (§ xv) over six connected dotted circles above a lion (or mastiff?); cf. No. 52. It is interesting to note that the lion is portrayed with two forelegs and one hind leg (see also griffin in No. 52 and left lion in No. 54). The combined scenes are delimited by a pot and 'loop standard' (cf. No. 10).

54. (WAG 42.488.) Cylinder of vein breccia (= jasper in milky quartz with minor impurities). Two lions (note ring-manes as in No. 49) attack a wild goat (as in No. 51). A god, whose dress and pose are like 'Amurru's' (§ i), stands on the back of one of the lions. (The individual horns of the god's crown are visible on close examination; contrast No. 53.) The symbol in the god's hand (cf. Nos. 14, 53) has here become tree-like. In the other hand he holds a throwing-stick (see Nos. 14, 28, &c.). Over a ladder design (cf. No. 34) with a dot in each section is a tree (§§ xvi, xvii) with a wild goat rampant on each side. The god overlaps both registers (see No. 51). To the left is the goddess with the raised hands (§ ii). Inscription: ^dIM-MU-A[D(?)]-AN (2) *mâr* ^da-šûr-BE (3) *warad* ^daš-šû[r](?)', 'Adad-?—?[], son of Assur-bêl(?), servant of Assu[r](?)'. It appears that the inscription (of which the reading is not certain) preceded the engraving of the scene and the hind-quarters of a lion have been cut over part of the ŠÛR-sign in line 3.

55. (WAG C61.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Two figures in long flounced robes sit facing each other on the humps of a Bactrian camel. This is probably the earliest known clear occurrence of the two-humped camel in art, and we may now assume the animal in MOORTGAT, *Bergvölker*, pl. XI, No. 2 to be the Bactrian camel. This animal was new to the artist and hence the clumsiness of representation. The person sitting on the right holds up a cup. Under each foot of the camel is a snake. The camel seems to be tied by his mouth to the tail of a sitting lion which is striking the lion vanquished by Gilgamesh (§ v) who locks the tail and one rear leg of his victim with both arms, holding up its hind quarters. He also has a scissors hold on the beast's head, and the combined grips enable him to twist the lion's body. A winged god (§ xii) clad as in No. 42 looks on. A close examination of his tiara shows that it is not a 'top-hat', but the many-horned crown, the individual horns being visible. The bowman over the camel's head wears only a double belt, and his hair is like that of the short-haired figures in Nos. 38-40, &c. The crowded field also contains a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi), a walking, humped bull (cf. Nos. 23, 38, 123); a running, long-horned wild goat; a scorpion (cf. Nos. 34, 75, 98), three 'eyes' (§ xxx), a dot and a lance-head (?).

56. (WAG 42.492.) Haematite scaraboid. A pair of chimera-sphinxes,¹ wearing 'aprons', face each other. Above their gaping leonine heads are superimposed human heads with the conventionalized horned crown (cf.

¹ Cf. HOGARTH, *Carchemish*, I, 1914, pl. B. 14.

No. 55) and chignon, and in the space are two dots and a circle (= sun disk?).¹

57. (WAG 42.232.) Paste cylinder. On the left is a winged human-headed (?) quadruped (cf. No. 56; contemporaneous?), a lion (?) biting its tail. Behind the lion (?) is a long-horned wild goat. The field is filled with drillings. Above and below are identical borders, each composed of three horizontal lines with short slant lines between the two outer horizontals.

58. (WAG 42.532.) Steatite stamp (not fully pierced) in gold frame. A large, long-necked, winged quadruped faces a smaller deer with curving horns. The space is filled with objects of doubtful identity; e.g. an animal head (? see § xi) over the winged beast, a scorpion (? see No. 55) over the deer, &c. The deep cutting is similar to No. 57 (contemporary?).

59. (WAG C59.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A bull's head (§ xi), with a dot over it, faces to the front. Under it is a rampant quadruped, looking backward and leaping off the ground (cf. No. 6). Under the figure to the right is a double 'S' (see Nos. 62, 66) and to the right is a rampant, long-horned deer looking backward (Nos. 43, 66). Next is a winged genius (§ xii) with an animal's (ass's?) head standing over three contiguous dotted circles. To the right is a lion of the type in Nos. 51-4. Over him is a rosette-star (§ xxiii). Above this is another (smaller) bull's head. A personage wearing a knee-length skirt touches both bulls' heads. All three anthropomorphic characters stand with body in front view, but with head and feet in profile. Their elbows are unnaturally rounded and on either side their hands touch the nearest animal or animal head. All three characters seem to have high heels. In the space are what look like a crescent (cf. § xxi), a double crescent, and an inverted animal head. The scene is bordered above and below with a single line (cf. 60-3, 65, &c.).

60. (WAG 42.415.) Cylinder of black stone; gold tips probably faked. Two women sit on chairs (§ xviii) with their knees drawn up and their legs apart. They hold something (flower? and sword?) in each hand. Between them, and touching the objects in their nearer hands, is a winged man (§ xii) wearing a very short costume, his body being portrayed in front view, but his head and feet in profile (cf. Nos. 59, 64, &c.). Bordering the scene is a deer (or goat?) rampant looking backwards (for its body markings, cf. No. 62). Under it is an inverted ox-head (§ xi) and over it a four-pointed symbol. Under one of the feet of one of the women is a rosette-star (§ xxiii).

61. (WAG 42.423.) Cylinder of black stone. There are two pairs of people facing one another. Between one pair is an ibex, standing on its forelegs, and above its hind legs is a disk over a crescent (cf. No. 42). To the right is a figure in a long flounced skirt with a wing (?; cf. § xii) springing from his left shoulder, and he faces a man (in a long belted gown with vertical pleats), on whose left is a flying bird (§ viii) over a rampant deer that looks

¹ [Herzfeld is probably right in interpreting each 'chimera' as a combination of an entire winged man (wearing a dress) and a lion with forelegs out front.]

backward (see Nos. 59, 60, &c.). The right figure of the other pair wears a long belted gown and has a wing (?) springing from his right shoulder. He faces a person in a belted dress, the front part of which ends above the knee while the back is long in swallow-tail fashion. Lines on either side and below his dress may indicate a cape. Behind him is an elongated object (sword?). All the characters have hair of about shoulder length.

62. (WAG 42.422.) Cylinder of shining black stone (?). There are two wasp-waisted, triangle-chested men with body in front view, but head and feet in profile (cf. Nos. 59, 60, 64, &c.). One of them holds a long-horned deer and a donkey (?; cf. No. 66) upside down. One man has a hair-band flying loose. Alongside the other is a triple cross (= star?; cf. § xxii) and what may be the head of a horned animal (§ xi) conventionalized as an 'S' (cf. Nos. 59, 66). The drill is used for the men's palms, the heads, jaws, and hooves of the animals and for the space-filling dots. The attitudes (cf. the elbows in No. 59), body markings (cf. No. 59), the continuousness of the scene (Nos. 63, 64), the workmanship and general style all indicate one and the same provenance and date for this group.

63. (WAG C76.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A row of (female?) genii holding hands, facing frontwise. As usual the artist does not know how to represent feet in the front view and so here he has the genii standing in what I am compelled colloquially to call a 'Charlie Chaplin' style (cf. No. 42). The genii wear small knobbed crowns and have animal ears, horns, and wings (set high on the shoulders; cf. § xii). Their gowns are long and have tight belts and a seam down the front, the sleeves of elbow length being very full. Between every two genii is a rosette-star (§ xxiii). Below each pair of clasped hands is a head of a similar genius (§ xi) on a long neck. The artist has engraved four identical groups, whereas he could have obtained the same effect by a single group to be repeated by rolling (cf. No. 64).

64. (WAG 42.433.) Bone cylinder. Two men, with their bodies frontwise, but heads and feet in profile (as in Nos. 59, 60, 62), hold a kid between them on either side. They are clad in long, belted gowns, of which the upper part is marked vertically and the lower part has slanting lines. The intervening space is free. The continuous frieze effect could have been obtained by one group instead of two (cf. No. 63). The shallow cutting is reminiscent of many Middle Assyrian seals such as No. 76 (contemporary?). [Herzfeld considers this seal a fake.]

65. (WAG 42.421.) Cylinder of same material as in No. 62. Two human figures are clad in long dresses with vertically marked shirts and horizontally marked skirts with two double seams down the front. Their pose is like that in No. 62. Their feet are quite large, they have hair-bands flying loose (cf. No. 62), and they hold hands. Between them is a griffin (§ xv) courant, of which the near wing is shown below and the far wing above. This crude perspective is duplicated in the related No. 66. The seal is calculated to give a continuous frieze effect (cf. Nos. 62-4).

66. (WAG C62.) Plaster impression of cylinder. There is a griffin like

that in No. 65, with its beak open. Behind it is a rearing donkey looking backward. Between them is the head of an animal with long horns, in the shape of an 'S' (cf. Nos. 59, 62). Under the donkey's forelegs is an adze-like object. Facing the donkey is an ibex, in front of which is an aquatic bird's head and under which is a donkey's (?) head (§ xi) over two dotted twists of rope (§ xxxiii). The ibex, donkey's head, and rope in three registers are parallel to subsidiary scenes in the roughly contemporary 'North Syrian' seals. The way in which the donkey overlaps both scenes is to be compared with Nos. 52-4, &c.






67. (WAG C27.) Plaster impression of cylinder. On the left is a man in profile carrying a mace on his shoulder. His shoes come above his ankles, he has bands (?) ; see No. 47) above the knee, and he wears a short skirt with a triple belt, his double-bordered sleeves not quite reaching his elbows. Between his legs is a rosette-star (§ xxiii), and before him is a vertical register of dotted twisted rope (§ xxxiii), and then come two crossed lions supported by a stand. To the right is a man with his body facing to the front, but his head and feet in profile (see Nos. 59, 60, 64, 65) holding two quadrupeds rampant. The upper part of the left quadruped is obliterated, but the one on the right, which has wings and horns, is preserved all but the head. Under the latter beast is a ram's head (§ xi) lying on its side, while above the beast is a running (not rising—for ruminants rise on the rear legs first) ibex (?). Between the heads of the men is a West Mediterranean (Aegean/Mycenean) inscription.

68. (WAG 42.496.) Cylinder of dark brown stone with (modern?) gold tips. Two men in long robes stand on either side of a spear (cf. No. 34). Two winged sphinxes (§ xiii) sit facing each other; over them is a spread eagle (§ viii). Over the left sphinx is what may be a plough. In the space are several drillings and lines, the drill having been used extensively.

69. (WAG 57.1512) is the original Tarkondemos (Tarkummuwa?) seal; see *Archiv Orientalní*, ix, pl. xxvi (opposite p. 110).

70. (WAG 42.352.) Haematite stamp. While pictures of this seal have been published, none of them is clear,¹ and our photograph is therefore of importance to Hittitologists. (I have consulted the well-known specialist in Hittite hieroglyphs, Dr. P. Meriggi, on Nos. 70-2, and he has kindly consented to my using the contents of his letter [dated May 30th, 1938] on condition that I state explicitly that virtually all readings must be regarded as tentative in view of our faulty knowledge at present. The interpretations of Nos. 70-2 are Meriggi's, but I alone am responsible for any errors.) The first sign in the inner circle (at the top), hitherto misread as *ha-r*, now proves to be No. 346 of Meriggi, 'Listes des hiérogl. hitt.' (*Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, fasc. 27, 1937, 85). To the right (to be read before the left in these seals, cf. No. 71) is *nu/no* over \boxplus (which means something like 'REIGN', see *Listes*, 110). The outer ring contains many otherwise unknown signs, some of which may be (1) an older stage of the writing (before 1600), (2) archaizing forms of a later period, or quite possibly (3) not actually writing (e.g., the enthroned

¹ See HOGARTH, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford, 1920, 75, fig. 79.

figure holding a sceptre). Though the figures face right, they follow each other from right to left. The first sign is probably  ROYAL SEAL (?). Then, after the enthroned man with the sceptre, comes an animal sign (perhaps No. 124 of the *Listes*) which may begin the name of a city, for it is followed by the determinative  CITY. The next sign,  GREAT KING, indicates that this is a royal seal dating from Hittite domination prior to 1200. Near the end of the legend the determinative for CITY occurs twice more, in the first instance under  (= an older form of  *ru*?). Before that is *e* and before that, *la*. Most of the other signs are not otherwise known; e.g. the three vessels (*Listes*, Nos. 338 *a*, 347 *a*, and 406 *a*, which is now to be corrected according to our photograph).

71. (WAG 52.264.) Brass (?) stamp. The inscription begins with the sign, apparently *pá-r*, between the two triangles, which are read *lu(wa)* SEAL. Then come the three strokes that serve as the ideogram for '3' or 'lord'; LORD (to be read *muwa*?) is indicated here. The third sign, at the bottom, is *li* (picture of a knife). To the right, under *lu(wa)* is *pa* (*Listes*, No. 176, hitherto virtually limited to the older inscription from Topada [eleventh century?]). For the combination *lu-pa* (to the right), cf. *Listes*, 107. The last sign, under the left *lu(wa)*, cannot yet be identified. Conjecturally, *Pá-r...il* is a personal name, and if so, of a private individual, for no title is given.

72. (WAG 57.1513.) Iron (?) stamp. The three human figures among the twisted rope (§ xxxiii) and spiral designs are not writing. The attitude of the standing man seems to be that of prayer, and therefore the seal may refer to a religious (not political) body or individual. The inner circle contains writing that is unfortunately not well preserved.

73. (WAG 54.2206.) Brass (?) stamp. Two walking quadrupeds are placed feet to feet. Seven dots are drilled around the edge (cf. § xxvii).

74. (WAG 54.2207.) Brass (?) stamp. The central figure is a running deer (note curved horn and cloven hooves). In the field are the head of a bird with a curved beak on a long neck, a circle, and several crescents.

75. (WAG C75.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The scene includes three nude people, five standing quadrupeds, a scorpion (see Nos. 55, 58), a bird (?; cf. § viii), a lotus (see Nos. 40, 105, 119), a six-pointed star, and two encircled five-pointed stars (§ xxii). There is an attempt at composition; e.g. the man on the right is between and over antithetic animals and stars respectively, and, if the seal is inverted there is a somewhat similar antithetic arrangement around the group of two men. The workmanship is, however, so poor that the attempt is rather futile, and the piece has little artistic appeal.¹ While the provenance may be either Syrian or Anatolian, the date is fixed roughly by a similar seal from level C at Tell Beit Mirsim (thirteenth century); cf. ALBRIGHT, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xvii, 1938, pl. 33 and § 80.

¹ Cf. L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*: R. F. S. STARR, *Nuzi*, II, Cambridge (Mass.), *Cylindres orientaux*, Paris, 1909, Nos. 128-35; 1937, pl. 119 H.

76. (WAG 42.413.) Cylinder of dark brown-stone. In the centre is a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi) over a stylized tree (§ xvii; cf. No. 48). The 'antennae' (cf. Nos. 55, 87, &c.) of the disk form a 'frame' round the tree. A bearded man, extending one hand and raising the other, stands on either side (the man on the right seems to be applying a cone for fertilization as in the later Assyrian reliefs). A similar man stands behind each of these and waves a diamond-shaped fan of woven stuff (probably reeds) on a long handle. Each of the four men wears a hat that may be described as a low fez and has a shock of hair falling on the shoulders. Their dresses are long, belted, short-sleeved, and fringed at the base and along the diagonal fold, and in three instances their swords may be seen, worn at their sides. The scene is limited by a crescent (§ xxi) over a tree-like standard, and above is a herring-bone border. The seal is quite shallowly cut, as is characteristic of many Middle Assyrian seals.

77. (WAG 42.363.) Conoid stamp of light-weight blackish stone. Two large and two small stylized ibex are engraved in antithetic arrangement. This and No. 78 come from Syria-Palestine of the early first millennium.

78. (WAG 42.362.) Conoid stamp of volcanic tufa (lava). Two ibex with curved, notched horns are portrayed, one being about to mount the other which looks backwards.

79. (WAG C32.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Lion hunt. Two men, an archer and a driver, are in a chariot drawn by two horses (note two sets of reins). The archer has wounded one lion with an arrow which pierces its head, while another has been overcome and is being trampled by the steeds. The chariot is quite small and rolls on two six-spoked wheels with the axle nearly at the back of the chariot, and at its side is a spear set in a socket and also a quiver. The men, who wear only skirts and double belts, are bearded and their locks are gathered into a chignon. The horses are harnessed at the neck (not at the shoulders as nowadays) and the driver holds the reins short. To save space the artist has drawn the wounded lion just about touching the horses. His attitude is rather human; note the anthropoid effect of the shoulders and forelegs, the paws being virtually hands. Date: ± 1150 B.C.

80. (WAG 42.435.) Cylinder of rose quartz. Presentation scene. A bearded man (a priest?) introduces a bearded, armed dignitary (= Assur?) to a seated goddess, whose high-backed throne has knobbed joints and knobs for decoration at the top and along the back (§ xviii). She wears a crown and a long, plaited dress with a fringed base, and with one hand she welcomes the men, the other being stylized into a rosette-star (§ xxiii). Before her is a stylized tree (§ xvii). The introducer wears a long gown fringed at the base and middle and along the vest-like diagonal fold. The person introduced wears a crown and a long and partly flounced gown with a fringed base. He is equipped with weapons, including a bow, slung over his shoulders (see No. 81) and he holds an arrow in his hand. All the figures have chignons, and each raises one hand and extends the other (for this characteristic posture in Assyrian art, cf. Nos. 81-4). In the field are an eight-pointed star made by

spokes radiating from a point (§ xxii), a crescent (§ xxi), two divine symbols (§ xxxii), and drilled dots. This group, Nos. 80-4, is executed with much use of the drill.

81. (WAG C7 = C8.) Plaster impression of cylinder. This seal is much like the preceding. A god (Assur?) and a seated goddess are mounted on crouching quadrupeds (the left one has a forked tongue, a scorpion's tail and horns). The goddess's triple belt is clearer here than in No. 80. In this seal the god's pose shows his fringed undergarment, and there is a sword by his side and a mace in his hand. In the field note a bird (if the goddess is Ishtar, cf. the doves of Venus as in No. 36) and some archaic-looking pseudo-cuneiform signs. The scene is delimited by a crescent (§ xxi) over free space.

82. (WAG 42.491.) Cylinder of banded (smoky, bluish, and neutral) chalcedony. A goddess sits on a chair (knobbed as in Nos. 80, 81). Her hands, one of which is crudely outlined, are in the characteristic position (see Nos. 80-4). A person stands with opened hands raised before her. To the right is a bearded man (being introduced?), who holds a large fish in either hand and places his foot on a third fish, the scales being brought out by cross-hatching (as is the lining of the fisherman's skirt). As is characteristic in these seals (especially Nos. 80-4), all the figures are represented with chignons. The fisherman's skirt is fringed along the curved edge and opens in front. The field is blank.

83. (WAG 42.451.) Cylinder of smoky chalcedony. This presentation scene has much in common with Nos. 80, 81; the chief difference is that here all the persons stand. Two women (or eunuchs?) stand before the armed god (Assur?), the one on the right having both hands raised. She has a long gown with a fringed base (for the costume of the left woman, see Nos. 80, 81). The god's crown has two pairs of horns, and in this case he holds an axe. The filling for the space is much as in No. 81 (including pseudo-writing). Note also the winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi) and the 'eye' (§ xxx).

84. (WAG C36.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A bearded character welcomes a beardless person, who wears a sword and a thick belt. Both are clad in long, plain robes. To the right is a 'scorpion man' (above the waist, a bearded man; below the waist a scorpion-tailed bird; note the heavy belt; cf. No. 88), carrying a pot (§ xx) by a cord. All three wear round, brimmed turbans. In the field are a crescent (§ xxi), two standards (cf. § xxix), a triangle (= female *pudendum*?, showing that the beardless character is Ishtar?), three drillings and *sibitti* (§ xxvii).

85. (WAG 42.444.) Cylinder of amethystine quartz. A rampant, scorpion-tailed, winged, Gilgamesh-headed (§ v) lion, the body of which is marked with cross hatching, seizes a rampant steed (§ ix) by head and leg. The seal is engraved with more than average neatness of workmanship and design. The field is blank. Inscription: *kunuk* ^m*MI-N[I]-(2)ia*, 'the seal of Šilliya'. The legend was inscribed after the scene was engraved; note how *N[I]* is placed at the upper right to make room for the wing. Dated ±1250 B.C.

86. (WAG 42.443.) Cylinder of rose quartz. A man on a galloping steed

(§ ix) hunts an ostrich which looks backward in its flight. The horse is well made except for the head which has rather the appearance of a bird's head. The horse has triple bands round his neck and tail as well as trappings (three triply crossed straps) hanging down, one from the reins and one from each side. The hunter, who wears a sash streaming out behind, and has a full head of hair with a chignon, is about to hurl a lance. The artist shows both wings of the ostrich, the farther one being bent in front of the bird. Artistically this seal is far superior to the famous ostrich seal of Urzana, king of Muṣaṣir.¹ The inscription is problematic (Elamite?; cf. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, Leipzig, 1920, No. 507).

87. (WAG C10 = C11.) Plaster impression of cylinder. There are two parallel scenes. To the left a man worships (for position of hands, see Nos. 80-4) at a stylized tree (§ xvii) that is surmounted by a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi). On the right, a hunter vanquishes a bull (note the musculature) by stepping on a hind knee and pulling back a horn. He holds a throwing-stick and has a dagger in his belt. Both men are bearded and wear long robes with fringed base and front opening. The field is blank.

88. (WAG C35.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The 'scorpion man' (cf. No. 84) shoots arrows at a winged quadruped which looks back with its mouth open, as it flees on the mountains, two arrows having found their mark in its head and neck. Vegetation is depicted on both sides of the mountains, above which is a crescent (§ xxi). Limiting the scene are a six-pointed star (§ xxii) above, and a fleeing quadruped looking backwards below.

89. (WAG C21.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A bearded hero stands between two female winged sphinxes rampant (§ xiii). He has a sword by his side and wears a plaited shirt, a thick belt, a flounced skirt which opens in front and a short underskirt, and he holds each sphinx by a fore-paw. The divinity of the sphinxes is shown by the horns protruding from the head-dress. The antithetic design is common, with some variation, to Nos. 89-94, 96. The space is blank. The scene is terminated by an Aramaic inscription: *lkpr*, '(belonging) to Kapar(a)'. (The name Kapara is known from the Gozan [Tell Ḥalâf] sculptures.) The writing is like that of the Zinjirli inscriptions of the eighth century.

90. (WAG 42.442.) Cylinder of banded (white, red, and violet) agate. A hero with 'X' wings (§ xii) stands between winged sphinxes rampant (§ xiii), holding each by a fore-paw. All three have 'bobbed' hair and beards and wear round turbans. The hero wears short underkilts beneath a long robe with a fringed curved opening down the front. The top border, which is also fringed, leaves the right shoulder bare. The sphinxes have triple belts and their legs seem to be those of birds. In re-rolling the scene their tails touch. The space is blank.

91. (WAG 42.440.) Cylinder of green chalcedony. A winged hero (§ xii; note skirt, as in No. 89, and triple belt) stands between rampant sphinxes

¹ See now HERZFELD, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IX, 35.

(§ xiii), one male, the other female. The hero's beard and chignon and the male sphinx's beard have three knots each. All but the hero's shoulders are in profile as in all of seals Nos. 89-96 except No. 90, where the wings are in front view, too. The body hair of both sphinxes is marked by lines, and in this and the following seals (Nos. 92-4) the drill has been used considerably. The scene is delimited by a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi; note 'double mace' on top, as in No. 92, too) over a bird (§ viii).

92. (WAG 42.430.) Cylinder of neutral chalcedony. This beautiful seal is remarkable for its clear detail. A kneeling hero (as usual bearded) is between winged steeds rampant (§ ix), the three lines on his helmet being perhaps conventionalized horns. His hair falls in several curls on his shoulders, and a thick belt supports his vertically pleated skirt which opens in front showing underkilts of similar stuff. The two lines between his legs are probably a dagger worn by his side (see Nos. 84, 87, 95), even though actually the skirt would hide it from view. The horses have their heads turned backwards. In the field are a six-pointed star (§ xxii) and a crescent (§ xxi). The scene is terminated by a winged disk as in No. 91, by a *sibitti* (§ xxvii), and by an 'eye' (§ xxx). In re-rolling the cylinder the tails and hind hooves of the horses touch (cf. No. 89). Above and below is a line.

93. (WAG 42.432.) Cylinder of smoky chalcedony. The hero holds a winged sphinx (§ xiii; note horn on crown as in No. 89) by the beard (as in No. 91) and an ostrich (§ viii), which claws him, by the neck. The beards and chignons of the hero and sphinx are made with three drillings each, as in No. 91. For the hero's shirt, see No. 89; for his gown, No. 90. See No. 86 for the position of the ostrich's wings. In the space are a fish (?; cf. § x) and an 'eye' (§ xxx). The scene is terminated by a crescent (§ xxi).

94. (WAG C37.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A winged hero (as in No. 91, though stylized here by the drill) grapples a rampant quadruped which looks away from him. Behind the hero are a crescent (§ xxi), an 'eye' (§ xxx), and a fish (?; as in No. 93). The scene is bordered by a (palm?) tree (§ xvi).

95. (WAG C35.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The scene is a lively portrayal of an archer hunting a griffin (§ xv). The archer is bearded and has a full head of hair with a chignon, and wears a loin-cloth or short hunting skirt opening in front. A long sword is fixed in his double belt and a quiver is slung over his shoulder, and he kneels as he draws his bow; the griffin with 'X' wings (cf. No. 90) looks back with gaping mouth as it flees rampant. The human appearance of its forelegs and shoulders is reminiscent of No. 79.

96. (WAG C22.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A hero (like that in No. 89) holds a pair of rampant beasts by the neck. The beasts have lions' bodies with the wings and hind legs of a bird. The left one has straight horns. Under an eight-pointed star (§ xxii) is a South Arabic inscription: '(/m?)rby perhaps to be read 'Arabiyyu, a personal name meaning '(The) Arab'. (Professors Torrey and Obermann of Yale University are inclined

to read the first letter as *m*. In a kind communication Dr. Torrey proposes the reading *Mâribî*, 'pertaining to Mârib [the well-known city]'.¹

97. (WAG 42.431.) Shell cylinder. The atmosphere is supplied by a palm-tree laden with dates and surrounded by smaller plants (§ xvi). In the grove, on stools without backs to them (§ xvi), sit a woman and a bearded man facing each other. A bearded servant stands between them. All three raise a hand in greeting. The seated people wear flounced robes, while the servant is clad in one with vertical pleats, all the robes being long, covering both shoulders. All three have chignons and turbans. The woman's hat seems rather smaller and more pointed than the men's. In the field are a bird (§ viii) and *sibitti* (§ xxvii). This seal is strangely executed and may be a fake.

98. (WAG C33.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A galloping bull (?; or horned steed) is the central figure. Though he is in profile, the artist shows all four legs and both ears, but only one horn (is he therefore a unicorn?). The scorpion (see Nos. 55, 75) in a position to seize him from behind is reminiscent of the later Mithraic art portraying the scorpion seizing the bull's testicles. Also in the field are a crescent (§ xxi), *sibitti* (§ xxvii) over a line and dot, an 'eye' (§ xxx), a star (§ xxii), and two divine symbols (§ xxxii) over a fish (§ x).

99. (WAG 42.441.) Cylinder of partly greyish, partly brownish chalcedony with convex ends. A hero holds a rampant griffin (with a bird's hinder parts; § xv) and winged bull by the foreleg. The hero, in profile but with shoulders frontwise, has wavy hair on his head, beard and chignon, and is naked to the waist. His long skirt, fastened with a belt, has three swallow-tail flounces and is fringed along the front opening and base, the underkilts being fringed along the base. The drill has been used to indicate the genitalia (?) of the beasts, the mane and fore-paws of the griffin, and the calf of the hero's leg. The space is blank (cf. also Nos. 100, 101).

100. (WAG C28.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A hero captures a rampant griffin (§ xv) which looks backward in its flight, his coiffure being like that in No. 99. His sleeveless robe hangs from both shoulders and has a low (almost 'V') neck, the curved base and swallow-tail flounces at the hip and knee being fringed; it opens in front showing the fringed underskirt. The hero holds a throwing-stick in his right hand and seizes the griffin's wing with his left.

101. (WAG C29.) Plaster impression of cylinder. A hero vanquishes a bull. His coiffure and dress (except for the angular base of his skirt) are as in No. 100, and, holding a mace in his right hand, he seizes the rampant bull which looks away from him. The beast's ribs and haunch muscles are represented by straight lines and its neck hair is shown by wavy lines. The space is blank. The inscription, which is to be read directly from the seal, is problematic and suspect. The first line reads *AD ??? KA A A BA B[A]*; the second begins with *DINGIR* and ends with *ZA*.

¹ [Professor Rhodokanakis considers 'rby the probable reading.]

102. (WAG C31.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The only figure is a walking human-headed, winged bull. Like similar genii among the sculptures in Assyrian palaces, this one has a many-horned tiara and the ears of a bull. Lines mark the ribs, and some of the musculature is brought out with the drill. A crescent (§ xxi) is the only symbol in the otherwise empty space. The inscription is suspect. Line one begins with *šá^m dPA-*, 'belonging to (a man named) Nabu-?'. The last sign is *AN^{m[e]}* perhaps to be read *šamê*, 'heaven' or *ilâni^{m[e]}* 'gods'. After a partly obliterated sign, line 2 reads *MU(?) - NI - IK*, which may stand for the personal name *Šumu-libši*. After a destroyed sign, line 3 reads *dwarduk*.

103. (WAG C30.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Ishtar welcomes a devotee; for their pose, cf. Nos. 80-4. Ishtar, as the war goddess, is encircled with a halo of maces, and another mace hangs from her side. She wears a crown with upright points, and her dress is like that of the man in No. 100, except for her plaited shirt. Her hair falls to her shoulders. The devotee is a woman with long, wavy hair, and her long robe has a plaited top and a checkered section above the fringed base. Between are two vertically pleated sections. The suspect inscription is to be read directly from the seal: *ŠÁ KI ??? ŠŪ (2) LI ??? ???*. Date ± 700 B.C.

104. (WAG 42.429.) Cylinder of smoky and bluish chalcedony. A bearded man with a full head of hair and chignon, wearing a long, belted, vertically pleated, two-flounced robe with a fringed base, stands with both hands raised in reverence before an altar (§ xix), on which a cake (?) is laid. Beyond are two divine symbols (§ xxxii) on a stepped platform. Above are a crescent (§ xxi) and an eight-pointed star (§ xxii). Over a stylized tree (§ xvii) is a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi) with finger-like markings on the *antennae* which suggest that the latter may stand for hands (cf. the 'hand-rays' emanating from the sun-disk of Ikhnaton).

105. (WAG C25.) Plaster impression of cylinder. The devotee is as in No. 104. He reveres Assur (cf. § iv) who is depicted to below the waist and set in a crescent. The god is bearded and has a knot of hair falling on his shoulders and wears a knobbed crown (as in Nos. 81, 83). (Note the cord that extends nearly the length of his back.) He raises one hand and holds a staff in the other. Under the crescent is a lotus (cf. Nos. 40, 119) in a semicircle with buds (or tassels?) for ends. To the left is a walking, horned beast (cf. the Ishtar Gate of Babylon) bearing two divine standards (§ xxxii). In the field are an eight-pointed star (§ xxii) and a knobbed cross (sword?).

106. (WAG C23.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Set in rectangular brackets, outside which is a palm-tree (§ xvi), are two 'Achaemenian heroes' (§ vi) placed antithetically about a stylized tree (§ xvii). They have beards and chignons and wear the *cidaris* with the Achaemenian dress of pleated pantaloons gathered up the middle, and a jacket. Each raises one hand in reverence and in the other holds a small object (lotus or pomegranate?). Above is a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi).

107. (WAG C24.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Double mythical hunting

scene. To the right an 'Achaemenian hero' (§ vi) grasps a rampant winged lion (§ xiv) and holds a dagger ready in his right hand. To the left, enclosed in an oval, is Ahuramazda in Achaemenian garb (see No. 106) (note the buttons on his jacket). Above is a winged, tailed disk (§ xxvi). Below, on each side, crouch bearded sphinxes (§ xiii) wearing flat caps; on the left sphinx stands an 'Achaemenian hero' with a quiver on his shoulder, about to let fly an arrow at the rampant winged lion which stands on the other sphinx. Both lions have crests and body markings. The drill has been used in making the crests, claws and facial features of the beasts, the details of the heroes' faces and feet, the god's buttons and the object (cf. No. 106) in the god's hands.

108. (WAG 42.445.) Slightly barrel-shaped cylinder of agate. In the centre rectangle are four 'Achaemenian heroes' (§ vi) portrayed down to the waist and arranged so as to form an 'X'. There is a scene above, another below and two on the side (the latter to be repeated for symmetry). Above: a kneeling hunter draws his bow to shoot at a bounding long-eared (or horned?) hare (?). The hunter wears a short skirt, opening in front and fastened with a belt (cf. No. 95), and has a beard and chignon. Below: a human-headed bird (see No. 118) raises its hands in adoration of the fire on an altar (§ xix). The head is beardless (probably female) and the coiffure is like that of the hunter. Side: (1) two long-horned wild goats stand rampant with necks intertwined (see No. 109), and their tails end in two branches. (2) A bearded man wearing a long robe stands beyond a walking bull and hurls a spear into a rampant lion.

109. (WAG C73.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Two wild goats are intertwined as in No. 108. The panel contains four lines of pseudo-cuneiform signs.¹

110. (WAG 42.153.) Scaraboid of incrustated chalcedony. A woman and a bearded man, raising their hands, revere a deity seated on a high, knobbed-backed throne (§ xviii). The deity wears a long gown and a fez-like crown and has a chignon, and extends a hand to welcome his devotees. The latter wear long gowns, that of the man having fringes along the base and the swallow-tail flounce, and that of the woman slanting pleats. A crescent (§ xxi) and a six-pointed star (§ xxii) are in the field. Under the scene are two lines.

111. (WAG C43.) Plaster impression of stamp seal. A man (as in No. 110) raises his hands to worship the two divine symbols which are set on a crouching beast's back (§ xxxii). Above is a crescent (§ xxi); below, a line.

112. (WAG C44.) Plaster impression of stamp. A man (as in Nos. 110, 111) stands before a flourishing (olive?) tree (§ xvi). To the right is a palm-tree with a small plant on either side (cf. No. 97). Between the trees is a divine symbol (cf. § xxxii). Beneath is a line.

113. (WAG C42.) Plaster impression of stamp. This crudely engraved scene shows a long-robed worshipper raising a hand in adoration of a stylized tree (§ xvii), over which is a winged disk (§ xxvi).

¹ Cf. L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des Cylindres* (Louvre), II, 1923, pl. 94, No. 7.

114. (WAG 42.446.) Conoid stamp of bluish banded chalcedony. A hunter with a wavy chignon, beard, and thick hair, wears a long dress, opening in front and fastened with a double belt, and having a sword by his side. With one hand he plunges a dagger into the belly of a rampant, gaping, crested, winged lion, the throat of which he grasps (see No. 107).

115. (WAG 42.489.) Stamp of bluish chalcedony. A bearded hunter (coiffure as in No. 114), in a short skirt with a fringe down the centre, has a throwing-stick ready in his right hand, as he seizes with his left a notched-horned ibex which looks away from him. In the field are an 'eye' (§ xxx) and the cuneiform sign *DINGIR*, 'god' (to be read directly from the seal as in Nos. 101, 103).

116. (WAG C48.) Plaster impression of stamp seal. The scene is like Nos. 114, 115, 122. The hunter (coiffure as in Nos. 114, 115, &c.; dress as in No. 100, &c.) is armed with a bow and quiver on his shoulder and a throwing-stick in his right hand. With his left he holds a hairy deer (?) which looks away from him as it kicks its captor (cf. Nos. 93, 122). In the field are an eight-pointed star (§ xxii), an 'eye' (§ xxx) and a cross with a circle on top (cf. Nos. 105, 118).

117. (WAG C47.) Plaster impression of stamp. Two characters wearing hats greet each other with both hands raised, both wearing long gowns with a fringed base. The one on the left has a double belt; the line behind him may represent a cape. The dot on his shoulder is the end of his hair. The drill has been used to indicate their cheeks, and ankles, the centre of the eight-pointed star (§ xxii), the dots in the field, &c.

118. (WAG C46.) Plaster impression of stamp. The creature is a human-headed, scorpion-tailed bird. Before it is a cross with a circular top (as in Nos. 105, 116) and above it a crescent (§ xxi).

119. (WAG 42.447.) Stamp of milky chalcedony; base and two sides engraved. Base: on the right is a bearded hero with a chignon and wearing a low, conical cap. He holds one hand up and the other down. To the left is a gaping, horned animal-headed genius holding up a rod in one hand, clenching a mace in the other and wearing a sword by his side. Both wear knee-length dresses with weapons fixed in their belts. Side 1 (adoration of Assur) and side 2 (two divine symbols) contain between them most of what is in No. 105. The artist has made full use of the drill.

120. (WAG 42.448.) Scaraboid of light, banded chalcedony. Scene like Nos. 89-93. The hero, wearing a short skirt with a sword fixed in his belt, stands between gaping, rampant lions, holding each by a fore-paw. The line-border round the scene is discontinued for the length of the lions' tails.

121. (WAG 42.439.) Stamp of incrustated chalcedony. On either side of a tree is a fleecy ram (§ xvi). They are in profile except for their curved horns, which are in front view.

122. (WAG 42.154.) Stamp of colourless and tan chalcedony. Scene like Nos. 114-16. An 'Achaemenian hero' (§ vi), with a dagger ready in his right

hand, seizes the throat of a winged lion (§ xiv) which claws him with a hind paw (cf. Nos. 93, 116).

123. (WAG 42.438.) Stamp of chrysoprase (?). A buffalo, with shaggy hair on its belly, neck, and hump, stands in profile (except for the horns; cf. No. 121). A crescent (§ xxi) and a six-pointed star (§ xxii) are in the field.

124. (WAG 42.361.) Stamp of syenite (or rhyolite?). The bust of a bearded man, with head in profile and shoulders frontwise, is splendidly engraved. His hair is neatly combed and encircled by a jewelled band, and he wears earrings and a necklace. His robe fits over both shoulders and is ornamented with lines (encircling the shoulders) interrupted by double crosses. Over the head, between a crescent (§ xxi) and a six-pointed star (§ xxii) is the Pahlevi legend: *'pst'n 'l yzd'n (apastân ô yazdân)* 'trust in God'. I owe the reading of the inscription to Professor Ernst Herzfeld, who dates this seal at about 300 A.D.

125. (WAG C58.) Plaster impression of cylinder. Four men (one on a stand, another by a quadruped and two exchanging greetings) stand between posts. Nos. 125-7 are of questionable antiquity.

126. (WAG 42.181.) Cylinder of iron. Two men (behind each is a long-robed attendant with a spear) thrashing an encircled bird.

127. (WAG 42.431.) Cylinder of breccia. Upper register: a naked suppliant curtsies before a crowned seated figure, behind whom is a burning altar. Two attendants with spears are behind the suppliant. Lower register: a woman and a bearded man (armed with a spear and club) face a winged woman.¹

¹ Addendum: WAG 42.449 (no photograph given) is a red and blue breccia cylinder. The scene depicts a deity offering a nest (?) to a seated

god. An attendant holds a mace (?) in one hand and a pot on a cord in the other. The seal looks like a forgery.



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7 (forgery)



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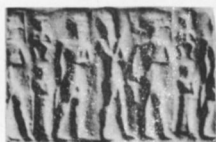
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25 (forgery)



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28 (suspect)



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31 (suspect)



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64 (suspect)



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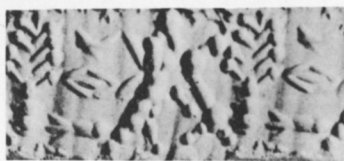
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100



101 (suspect)



102 (suspect)



103 (suspect)



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108



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116



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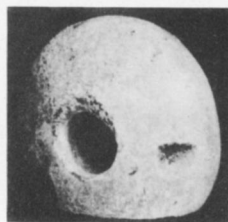
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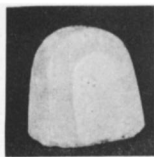


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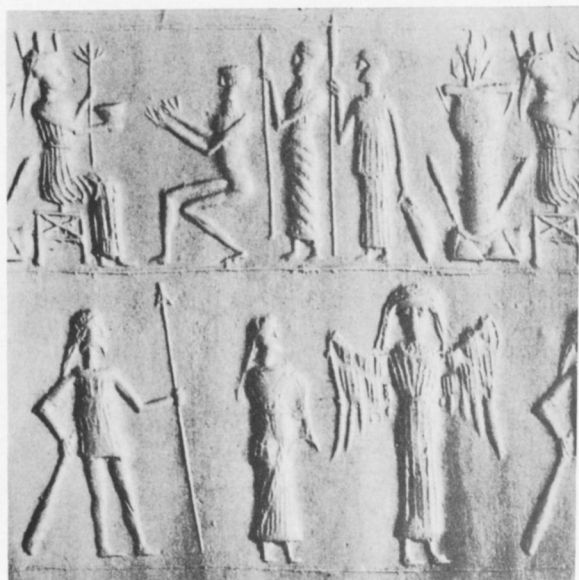
124



125 (forgery)



126 (forgery)



127 (forgery)

Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets

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Fig. 1. Horite Vase From Nuzu

BIBLICAL CUSTOMS AND THE NUZU TABLETS

One of the main reasons that Scripture is often misunderstood is the fact that its readers are generally unfamiliar with the ways of mankind in Bible lands and Bible times. If the scribes had prepared an edition of Holy Writ for us of the twentieth century A. D., they would have taken far less for granted about many every-day matters that their contemporaries understood without difficulty.

We may fortunately overcome some of our ignorance by studying the many groups of documents unearthed by the Biblical archaeologist. Among

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the most interesting of these are the thousands of Babylonian clay tablets of the fifteenth century B. C. found at Nuzu (or Nuzi), in northeast Iraq. Excavations were begun at this city in 1925 by the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad under the direction of Professor Edward Chiera. Hardly had the work commenced when the villa of one of the city's nobles was encountered. Later on other villas were uncovered, as was also the palace of the local ruler. Fortunately, several of the families had been very careful to preserve records of their social and business transactions, which were stored away in archive rooms, awaiting their modern resurrection. Thus by 1931 when the excavations were completed by the American School in cooperation with Harvard University and the University Museum of Philadelphia, a very good picture of the life of this ancient city was at hand.

A point of interest which these discoveries have for the Biblical student is that the Nuzians were Hurrians, the long-lost Horites of the Old Testament. Even more significant is the fact that the archives of the Horite city of Nuzu reflect ways of living that are relatively close in time and place to those of the Patriarchs. Consequently, they clear up some of our misunderstandings regarding the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who wandered between Mesopotamia and Egypt in the first half of the second millennium B. C.

The Patriarchal Age

It may seem strange to us that at first Abraham's heir was a slave by the name of Eliezer (Gen. 15:2-3). The adoption of slaves is known in the tablets from the archives of Nuzu (H IX 22, for example¹), and some of these documents make clear the reason for, and nature of, this relationship between Abraham and his adopted son, Eliezer.² It was a custom at Nuzu for childless people to adopt a son to serve them as long as they lived and to bury and mourn for them when they died. In exchange for these services the adopted son was designated as heir. If, however, the adoptor should beget a son after the adoption, the adopted must yield to the real son the right of being the chief heir (H V 7, 60, 67). Once we know of this

1. I hope the reader will pardon such queer numbers and letters as these scattered throughout the text of this article, and also the numerous footnotes. The reason they are included is to give those who are interested a chance to go deeper into the matter. The abbreviations refer to the cuneiform originals, and the key is given in the journal *Orientalia*, 1938, p. 32.
2. See Albright, *The Arch. of Pal. and the Bible*, 3rd Edition, 1935, pp. 137-9.

proviso, we have the legal meaning of God's reply in Genesis 15:4: "This (slave) shall not inherit thee, but he that shall come out of thine inwards shall inherit thee."

Since the purpose of marriage was procreation rather than companionship, it is not surprising that Nuzu marriage contracts may go so far as to oblige the wife who fails to bear children to provide her husband with a handmaid who will bear them: for example, "If Gilimninu (the bride) will not bear children, Gilimninu shall take a woman of N/Lullu-land (whence the choicest slaves were obtained) as a wife for Shennima (the bridegroom)."³ This enables us to grasp the viewpoint of Sarah, who says to Abraham: "The Lord has kept me from bearing. Go in, I pray, unto

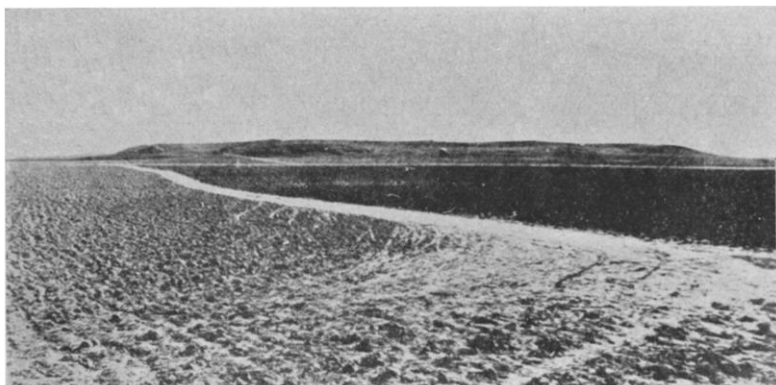


Fig. 2. The Site of Ancient Nuzu

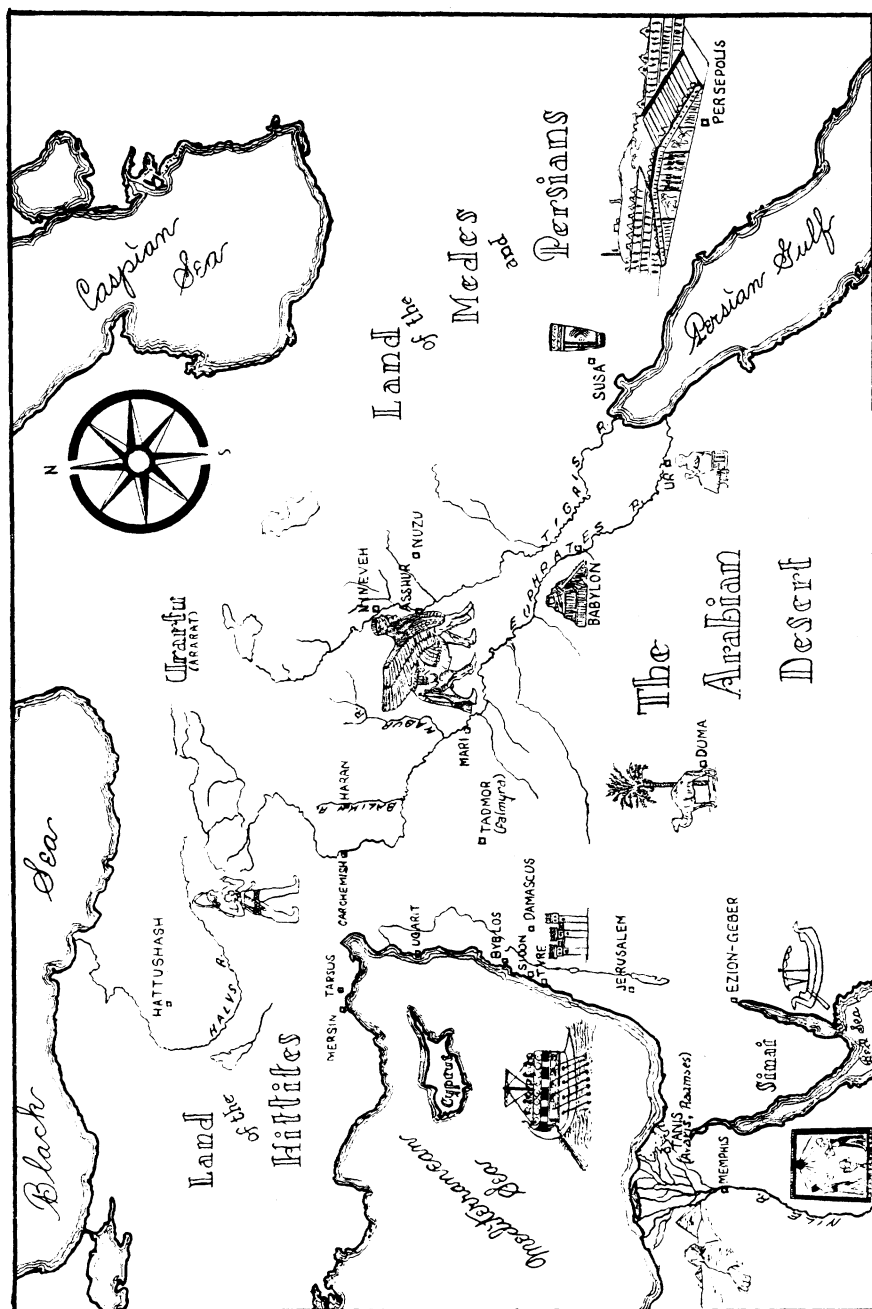
my handmaid (Hagar)! Perhaps I shall be built from her" (Gen. 16:2). No matter how unnatural it may seem to us in the light of our present point of view, Sarah's action fits into the social pattern of her environment, and, two generations later, Rachel gives Bilhah to Jacob for the same reason (Gen. 30:3).

After Hagar had borne Ishmael, Sarah was blessed with a son, Isaac. Resentful of Hagar and with misgivings that Ishmael's presence might be detrimental to Isaac's future, Sarah tells Abraham: "Drive out this handmaid and her son, for the son of this handmaid shall not inherit along with my son, Isaac" (Gen. 21:10). Under these circumstances the Nuzu wife was expressly forbidden to expel the handmaid's offspring: for example, "Gilimninu shall not send the (handmaid's) offspring away" (H V 67:22). Doubtless Sarah was not acting within her rights, for a divine dispensation is required to permit the unwilling Abraham to comply: "And the thing was quite bad in the eyes of Abraham on account of his son (Ishmael). But God said to Abraham: 'Let it not be bad in thine eyes because of the lad and thy handmaid. (In) all that Sarah saith to thee hearken unto her voice, for in Isaac shall seed be called for thee'" (Gen. 21:11-12).⁴

Few incidents in family life seem more peculiar to us than Esau's sale of his birthright to his twin brother, Jacob. It has been pointed out

3. From Tablet No. H V 67: 19-21.

4. See Speiser, *Annual of the Am. Schools* . . . , Vol. XIII, p. 44, and the subsequent discussion by the writer, *Revue Biblique*, 1935, p. 35.



that one of the tablets (H V 99) portrays a similar event.⁵ The resemblance is not as striking as it might be, however, because the document is an agreement whereby one man makes over the right to inherit the major portion of his father's estate to another man's son. There is better example in tablet N 204 in which a man by the name of Tupkitilla transfers his inheritance rights regarding a grove to his brother Kurpazah in exchange for three sheep. Students of the Nuzu Tablets are well acquainted with the wretched lack of fraternal love among Hilbishuh's sons whose names were Kurpazah, Tupkitilla and Matteshup. In one of the documents (N 331) Kurpazah hails Matteshup to court on a charge of having committed assault and battery on Kurpazah's wife. In another⁶ there is the record of the scandal in which Matteshup swears in court that Kurpazah stole eight sheep from the groves in Tupkitilla's inheritance portion. As if it were not enough for one brother to rob another's estate, a third brother must play the informer! Tablet N 204, ironically enough, was labelled "a document of brotherhood." "Brotherhood" is here one of the technical terms used by the Nuzians to get around the law against selling land. In other words, the sale of a birthright is here kept within the law by being quite obviously disguised as an adoption into brotherhood, even though the parties are already brothers by birth. However complicated and perverse this may seem, it is nevertheless true. The main part of the text reads as follows:

"On the day they divide the grove (that lies) on the road of the town of Lumti . . . (there follow the dimensions and the exact location), Tupkitilla shall give it to Kurpazah as his inheritance share. And Kurpazah has taken three sheep to Tupkitilla in exchange for his inheritance share."

It is hard to imagine that any reason other than dire lack of food induced Tupkitilla to sell his patrimony for three sheep. But just as Kurpazah exploited Tupkitilla's hunger, so did Jacob take advantage of the famished Esau:

"And Jacob said: 'Sell me thy birthright now!' And Esau said: 'What with me about to die (of hunger), what good is the birthright to me?' And Jacob said: 'Swear to me now!' And he swore to him and sold his birthright to Jacob. And Jacob gave Esau bread and a mess of lentils and (Esau) ate and drank" (Gen. 25:31-34).

Jacob's dealings with Laban have been particularly illuminated by the Nuzu records. One tablet (G 51) is so important that we translate all of it except the names of the seven witnesses at the end:

"The adoption tablet of Nashwi son of Arshenni. He adopted Wullu son of Puhishenni. As long as Nashwi lives, Wullu shall give (him) food and clothing. When Nashwi dies, Wullu shall be the heir. Should Nashwi beget a son, (the latter) shall divide equally with Wullu but (only) Nashwi's son shall take Nashwi's gods. But if there be no son of Nashwi's, then Wullu shall take Nashwi's gods. And (Nashwi) has given his daughter Nuhuya as wife to Wullu. And if Wullu takes another wife, he forfeits Nashwi's land and buildings. Whoever breaks the contract shall pay one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold."

To bring out the more clearly the bearing of this text on the Hebrew episode we summarize the tablet, substituting "Laban" for "Nashwi", and "Jacob" for "Wullu": "Laban", who has no son of his own, adopts

5. See Speiser, *loc. cit.*

6. *Jour. of the Am. Oriental Soc.*, 1927, pp. 36-60, Text 18.

(Facing Page) Map of the Ancient Near East, prepared by Emily Denyse Wright and Harold M. Mallett. The city of Nuzu can be found near the Tigris River not far from Asshur and Nineveh.

"Jacob" and makes him heir. If "Laban" should beget a son in the future, that son and "Jacob" are to share the inheritance, but only the begotten son is to take "Laban's" gods. If "Laban" does not beget a son, then alone may "Jacob" take "Laban's" gods (compare N 89:10-12). As a condition, "Jacob" is to marry "Laban's" daughter. "Jacob" is forbidden to marry any other woman under the penalty of forfeiting "Laban's" property.

Let us now examine the Biblical account to see if and to what extent it coincides with the tablet. There is no indication that Laban had sons when Jacob first appears on the scene (Gen. 29). Laban's sons were apparently born between that time and twenty years later (Gen. 31:41), when they are first mentioned (Gen. 31:1). Laban agrees to give a daughter in marriage to Jacob when he makes him a member of the household: "It is better that I give her to thee than that I give her to another man. Dwell with me!" (Gen. 29:19). Our thesis that Jacob's joining Laban's household approximates Wullu's adoption is borne out by other remarkable resemblances with the Nuzu document.

Laban's insistence that Jacob take no wife in addition to his daughters (Gen. 31:50) is interesting but without other evidence would prove nothing because the prohibition against the bridegroom's taking another wife is rather widespread (compare also N 435:10). More significant, though by itself inconclusive, is Laban's gift of a handmaid to each of his daughters upon their marriage to Jacob (Gen. 29:24, 29). This is done under similar circumstances according to another tablet (H V 67:35-36). Rachel's theft of Laban's gods (Gen. 31:19, 30-35), however, is unmistakably paralleled in the tablet translated above.⁷ While they are called *teraphim* in verses 19, 34, and 35, they are called "gods" in verses 30 and 32, as in the Nuzu tablets. There is no doubt, therefore, that the *teraphim* were simply idols.⁸ The possession of these gods was important, and, in addition to their religious significance, they may have implied leadership of the family. Because Laban had begotten sons, none but the latter had any right to the gods and hence Laban's indignation is justified: "Why has thou stolen my gods?" (Gen. 31:30). Jacob, on the other hand, had not bargained for so secondary a position. His hopes had been frustrated by the birth of Laban's sons.

The following words of Laban are quite intelligible if understood as being addressed to Jacob in the latter's capacity of Laban's adopted son (not son-in-law!): "The daughters are my daughters and the sons are my sons and the flocks are my flocks and whatever thou seest is mine" (Gen. 31:43). Laban was to exercise patriarchal authority over all his children and grandchildren as long as he lived. Jacob, as Laban's adopted son, and Jacob's wives, children and flocks belonged to Laban. Laban had every right to punish Jacob for running away and stealing members of Laban's household, but "the God of Jacob's father" had appeared to Laban in a dream and commanded him to deal gently with Jacob (Gen. 31:24, 29). Furthermore, even the heart of a crafty Aramean like Laban was not de-

7. Sidney Smith, *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, 1932, pp. 33-36.

8. (This fact should be kept in mind to offset some of the wild speculations concerning the Teraphim. The latest is to be found in the *Religious Digest*, Sept., 1939, pp. 19-22, where a writer indicates to his own satisfaction that the *teraphim* were the original tablets of which Moses made use when he composed the Pentateuch!—G.E.W.)

void of parental tenderness: "And as for my daughters, what can I do to them now—or to their children that they have borne" (Gen. 31:43).

That Rachel and Leah were not free to leave their father's household was not merely because they were his daughters (for under ordinary circumstances married women belonged to their husbands). They still belonged to Laban on account of their husband's status as an adopted son. They were as guilty as Jacob in agreeing to run off (Gen. 31:14-16).⁹

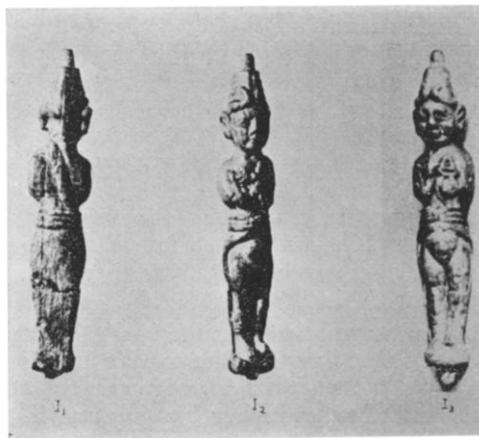


Fig. 3. An Idol from Nuzu. The Teraphim were objects of this sort.

That Laban had been roguish in more ways than one is also evident from the Biblical account. The most shameful occasion of which we know, is the way he "palmed off" the wrong bride on the unsuspecting Jacob (Gen. 29:22-27). Furthermore, that he had not been an ideal father can be gathered from the complaint of his daughters: "Are we not reckoned as foreign women unto him?" (Gen. 31:15).¹⁰ The Nuzu tablets make a sharp distinction between native women (called "daughters of Arrapkha", the local capital), who cannot be subjected to mistreatment, and foreign women, who are regularly found to occupy inferior social positions.¹¹ This clarifies the terminology used by Rachel and Leah. They felt that Laban had treated them as foreign women, whatever be the precise financial significance of their reason: "for he has sold us and indeed eats our money" (Gen. 31:15).

A tablet published a few months ago by Lacheman (N 661) records that a man by the name of Shamash-qarrad becomes Tehiptilla's slave on condition that Tehiptilla will provide him with a wife. This is an interesting parallel to Jacob's working for his brides (Gen. 29:18,30). We may safely assume, however, that Tehiptilla did not give a daughter to Shamash-qarrad; he probably gave him a slave-girl. Jacob, however, was not Laban's slave. The relationship between Jacob and Laban is paralleled far more closely in the tablet discussed above (G 51) than in this one.

9. Gordon, *Bulletin of the Am. Schools* . . . , April, 1937, pp. 25-27.

10. Burrows, *Jour. of the Am. Oriental Soc.*, 1937, p. 264.

11. Gordon, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriol.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 149.

The blessings of Biblical characters, as, for example, those of the Patriarchs, were taken quite seriously for they amounted to irrevocable last wills and testaments. Even after Esau's blessing had been extorted from Isaac by Jacob under false pretenses, Isaac, distressed as he was and knowing that he had been tricked, could not go back on his word: "And Isaac trembled much with great trembling and said: 'Whoever it was that hunted game and brought (it) to me and I ate of all (of it) before thou camest and I blessed him—even he shall be blessed'" (Gen. 27:33). Be it noted that Patriarchal standards require Isaac to keep his word even under these extenuating circumstances, and he is prepared to do so even though a stranger inherit him; for he does not yet know that his blessing has been given to Jacob, and not to an imposter outside the family. Some present standards compare rather unfavorably with this.

However much the blessings themselves may have been shaped to fit subsequent history, their original function as testamentary wills is still preserved. Thus Isaac appoints his son to follow him as family chief: "Be a lord to thy brothers!" (Gen. 27:29), while Jacob designates Judah as his successor: "Judah, may thy brothers pay thee homage . . . may thy father's sons bow down to thee!" (Gen. 49:8).

It should also be observed that impending death provides the occasion for the blessings. Upon choosing the time to give his blessing, Isaac says: "I have grown old and I know not the day of my death" (Gen. 27:2). Jacob was actually on his death-bed and after blessing and instructing his sons, "he gathered his feet unto the bed and died and was gathered unto his people" (Gen. 49:33).

One of the Nuzu tablets (PS 56) is a document recording the lawsuit of a certain Tarmiya against his two brothers, who contested his right to take a woman by the name of Zululishtar as wife. Tarmiya wins the case and is awarded his bride because the court recognizes the validity of his father's "blessing", which Tarmiya reports as follows: "My father, Huya, was sick and lying in bed and my father siezed my hand and spoke thus to me: 'My other older sons have taken wives but thou hast not taken a wife and I give Zululishtar to thee as wife.'" This text conforms with Biblical blessings like those of the Patriarchs in that it is (a) an oral will, (b) with legal validity, (c) made to a son by a dying father.

Since the nomadic Patriarchs did not resort to writing, it is natural that the spoken word should be binding. What is strange is that in a settled community like Nuzu, where even trivial transactions were carefully documented, the oral "blessing" should be upheld in court. Regarding these "blessings", then, the Bible throws more light on Nuzu than vice versa. In such studies as these it is well to remember that the Bible, aside from its great inner worth, remains our leading source for the ancient Near East. The historian does not use inscriptions and archaeology to "prove" (or "disprove") the Bible, but rather does he use the Bible to illuminate the antiquity in which our cultural heritage is rooted.

Lack of space prevents us from entering into all the minor Nuzu side-lights on Patriarchal days. We shall limit ourselves to Jacob's claim that he had been a faithful herdsman for Laban. He says, among other things: "I did not eat the rams of thy flocks" (Gen. 31:38). It is interesting to compare the law-suits brought by Nuzu cattle owners against their herds-

men for slaughtering animals without permission. For example, the Nuzu plutocrat Tehiptilla filed and won two suits against his herdsman Tilliya for illegal slaughtering (tablets N 326 and 353). However much Jacob may have sinned against Laban, he had at least refrained from feasting clandestinely on mutton at Laban's expense.

The Nuzu parallels show that the picture of Patriarchal society was not distorted in the millennium of oral transmission before the account was first committed to writing. Thanks to the Nuzu texts we may feel confident that the social institutions have come down to us authentically.



Fig. 4. A Horite Lion from Nuzu

Parallels To Other Biblical Laws and Customs

A number of writers have pointed out many other Nuzu parallels to the Bible. Since the field is new, not all of these have stood the tests of further investigation and additional evidence. In reviewing what I consider some of the more probable parallels it will be noted that they do not cluster around a single period as those above do around the Patriarchal Age. The resemblances are due sometimes to common origins, sometimes to borrowing and sometimes to chance. In several cases there are still more analogies in other documents of the ancient Near East. Not included here are the purely linguistic or terminological parallels, of which there are many interesting examples.

While Hebrew society was essentially patriarchal, with the father ruling the family, it had certain fratriarchal aspects, whereby a man is singled out to exert authority over his brothers. Another brother may be appointed vice-fratriarch (I Sam. 8:2; 17:13; I Chron. 5:12). In Hebrew the terms designating "fratriarch" are quite distinct from "first-born": for example, "Shimri was the fratriarch, though not the first-born, for his father made him fratriarch" (I Chron. 26:10). Fratriarchy is detectable

in the Nuzu tablets as well as in the cuneiform records of the Hittites and Elamites.¹²

While the right of daughters to inherit is quite familiar to us, it is not recognized in all states of society. Numbers 27:8 decrees thus: "If a man die, and he have no son, ye shall transfer his estate to his daughter." Under similar circumstances a daughter is to get a share of the parental estate in one of the Nuzu tablets (H V 67:27-29).¹³

Levirate marriage (to cite one of its variant forms) designates the institution whereby the widow of a man who dies without having begotten a son is to marry the deceased's brother and the first son of this union is legally the son of the dead husband. Such is the essence of the law according to Deuteronomy 25:5-7 (compare also Gen. 38 and Ruth). Though the institution came to be interpreted as a measure to preserve the deceased's name in Israel (Deut. 25:6), it seems to have originated in purchase marriage, according to which a girl is bought by and belongs to her husband's family. This, at any rate, is the case in a Nuzu tablet (N 441) wherein a father, when obtaining a bride for his son, specifies that if the son dies, she is to be married to another of his sons.¹⁴

Hosea 2:4-5 refers to the custom of having a reprehensible wife expelled naked by her own children: "Take action against your mother, take action, for she is not my wife nor am I her husband (i.e. I herewith divorce her) . . . Lest I have her stripped naked and set her as on the day she was born" (compare also Ezek. 16:39; 23:26). In a Nuzu tablet (N 444:19-23) a husband wills: "If (my wife) Wishirwi goes to (another) husband and lives (with him), my sons shall strip off the clothes of my wife and drive (her) out of my house." Similarly another tablet (H V 71: 34-36) contains the same injunction. This custom finds a parallel in a cuneiform tablet from Hana, in Aramaic magical bowls from a very much later time in Babylonia, and, oddly enough, among the ancient Germans.¹⁵

Frequently the Nuzians sold their daughters or sisters into what are euphemistically called adoptions, with the proviso that the adoptors shall marry the girls off. Exodus 21:7-11 shows that a similar custom existed in Israel, whereby a man could sell his daughter as a slave and the purchaser was to see that she was married. One of the possibilities mentioned is that his son should marry her.¹⁶

Exodus 22:6-8 reads as follows:

"If a man give silver or vessels to another for keeping and it is stolen from the latter's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double. If the thief be not found, the owner of the house shall draw nigh unto the gods (to swear) that he did not put his hand upon the other's goods. As for every transgression regarding an ox, an ass, a head of small cattle, a garment—regarding any lost article about which (someone) says that: 'This is it', the case of both of them (the litigants) shall come before the gods. Whom the gods declare guilty shall pay double to the other party."

12. I have discussed the question from the Biblical angle in *Jour. of Biblical Lit.*, 1935, pp. 223-231.

13. *Revue Biblique*, 1935, p. 38.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

15. See Kuhl, *Zeitsch. f. die alttestamentliche Wiss.*, 1934, pp. 102-109; and Gordon, *ibid.*, 1936, pp. 277-80, and 1937, p. 176.

16. As is the case in Tablet H V 79: 17-18. See Mendelsohn, *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, 1935, pp. 190-95. Cf. Burrows, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage*, 1938, pp. 22-33.

Though we do not know the technical details, divine images were used in deciding cases where contradictory claims led to a deadlock. Of course, in later times the word here translated "gods" was translated by "judges", "rulers", or by "God", but there is no doubt that *originally* the sense of the passage was as given above. The ordeal-oath before the gods is a common feature of the Nuzu trials, and translations of the Bible which alter the sense are unjustified.¹⁷ In later Hebrew law the use of these idols was eliminated.



Fig. 5. A Nuzu Tablet (by Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

From ancient times to the present the town nearest the spot of an unsolved crime is often held responsible in the Near East. Thus, in tablet N 125 from Nuzu the inhabitants of the town of Purilli collectively face a charge of burglary and larceny. Community responsibility is reflected in Deut. 21:1 ff., where the elders of the nearest city must make a sacrifice, wash their hands and declare: "Our hands have not shed this blood and our eyes have not seen (the murder)."¹⁸

The institution of the release is well-known in the ancient Near East.¹⁹ Hebrew law reckoned with two releases: (1) the "Sabbatical Year", in which Hebrew slaves were freed, debts cancelled and the soil left lying fallow; and (2) the Jubilee Year, when all real estate reverted to its original owner. Oriental rulers of former days occasionally proclaimed releases and perhaps such a one is referred to in Esther 2:18. Many Nuzu tablets are dated "after the release". Further study of them is necessary,

17. Gordon, *Jour. of Biblical Lit.*, 1935, pp. 139-144.

18. For fuller treatment see the writer, *Revue d'Assyriol.*, 1936, pp. 1-6, and *Zeitsch. f. die alttestamentliche Wiss.*, 1936, p. 278, n. 1.

19. See Alexander, *Jour. of Biblical Lit.*, 1938, pp. 75-79.

however, before the resemblances with the Biblical releases can be established. An identity in detail seems to be out of the question.²⁰

Hebrews and Horites

Most scholars accept the identification of a people called *Habiru* in the cuneiform inscriptions with the Hebrews. That is, the words are identical and referred originally to the same type of people. Originally "Hebrew" did not denote a nation, a religion or a language, but instead a social status. The Nuzu tablets are a leading source of information on this subject. It is quite normal in Nuzu for the Habiru (Hebrews) to enter voluntarily into permanent slavery: for example, "Sin-Balti, a Habiru woman, caused herself to enter the house of Tehiptilla in servitude. If Sin-Balti breaks the contract and goes into another house, Tehiptilla may pluck out Sin-Balti's eyes and sell her for a price" (N 425). Another tablet reads, "As for Silli-Kubi, the Habiru, his (own) mouth and tongue caused him to enter (in servitude the house of) Tehiptilla, son of Puhishenni" (N 454). This institution had a practical, economic reason. Instead of facing the poverty which was virtually certain to cling to them all of their days, the Habiru acquired security by joining wealthy households as slaves. In a home like Tehiptilla's there would be no dearth of food, clothing and shelter.

In Exodus 21:2 ff. are laws pertaining to the "Hebrew slave", where "Hebrew" retains the social connotation it has in Nuzu. It is especially interesting to note verses 5 and 6 where the "Hebrew slave" enters voluntarily into permanent servitude.²¹ It is too soon to say what bearing the Habiru data may have on the study of the enslavement of the Hebrews in Egypt.

While the Nuzu tablets were written in the Babylonian language, the native population was Horite. The scribes now and then use Horite words, whose meanings are often fixed by the Babylonian context. These loan-words are adding considerably to our growing knowledge of the language which these people spoke. The Horites were formerly known only from a few obscure references in the Old Testament. Now we know them to have been a dominant ethnic element in the Near East throughout the second millennium B. C. Unscientific etymologists had misconstrued their name to mean "cave dwellers." Of course, they were nothing of the kind and their own inscriptions from Egypt, Canaan, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia have helped to restore them to their proper place in history. The Nuzu tablets have made life in the Horite town probably the best known of any community in remote antiquity.

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20. *Revue Biblique*, 1935, pp. 38-41.

21. With frequent reference to Nuzu, Lewy discusses the Habiru question in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 1939, pp. 587-623.

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The New Amarna Tablets

CYRUS H. GORDON — Philadelphia

Dedicated to
Professor James A. Montgomery
on his eightieth birthday
13 June 1946

In 1915 J. A. Knudtzon completed his corpus⁽¹⁾ of 358 Amarna tablets. The same year saw the material augmented by O. Schroeder's publication of a fragment of the Šar Tamḥari ("King of Battle") epic⁽²⁾. Then six Amarna letters (*362–*367), that had been found in the original discovery of 1887, were brought out by the late

(¹) Referred to as "K" in the following list of abbreviations: AG: K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, *Studia Orientalia* VII, Helsingfors, 1938. — BA: B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II, Heidelberg, 1925. — CT: *Cuneiform Texts . . . in the British Museum*. — DNT: C. H. Gordon, "The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets", *Orientalia* VII, 1938, pp. 32-63, 215-232. — GdA: E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 3rd ed., Stuttgart & Berlin, 1928. — JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. — K: Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1907-15. — PB: A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Rome, 1914. — RA: *Revue d'Assyriologie*. — ŠL: Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*. 2nd ed., Rome, 1927-37. — ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

(²) *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* XII, text 193, pp. 2-4. In keeping with the chronological order of subsequent publications, we call this text *359 in continuation of Knudtzon's numbering. This agrees with S. A. B. Mercer, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, Toronto, 1939. We also keep Mercer's numbering of the very fragmentary texts *360 (Schroeder, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1915, text 179) and *361 (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1917, pp. 105-6). Regarding the remaining texts, we diverge from Mercer in order to set up a chronological sequence that may be continued without difficulty in case more Amarna tablets are published.

F. Thureau-Dangin in 1922⁽¹⁾. Three years later Sidney Smith and C. J. Gadd edited "A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words" (*368) from Amarna (JEA XI, 1925, pp. 230-40). In 1934 G. Dossin published the letter of Milki-Ili, King of Gezer, under the title "Une nouvelle lettre d'El-Amarna" (*369) in RA XXXI, 1934, pp. 125-136. Meanwhile, during the first half of the 1933-4 campaign at Amarna, the late Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury, whose untimely death in Crete during the war was a great loss to scholarship, unearthed the eight new fragments. A brief notice of these texts was published in JEA XX, 1934, pp. 137-8⁽²⁾. They were not included in Mercer's edition. It is with the kind permission of The Egypt Exploration Society that I now publish these documents in *Orientalia*. I dedicate this study to my illustrious teacher, Professor James A. Montgomery, on the occasion of his eightieth anniversary.

The Amarna tablets are second to no other corpus of inscriptions in enduring importance and sustained interest. In spite of decades of intensive study by numerous scholars, these documents have not been relegated to a secondary position in contemporary orientology. This is partly due to the fact that despite the work of many Assyriologists, the problems of the Amarna tablets have not yet been completely solved. Nor is this surprising when one considers the complexity of the situation. Thus, on the linguistic side, we may recall that the peripheral Accadian dialects of the Amarna tablets are replete with Canaanite, Hurrian, Egyptian, Hittite and other influences. The native language of each scribe tends to peer through his affected Accadian idiom. The discovery of the Semitic alphabetic texts at Ugarit has given a fresh impetus to the investigation of the Syro-Palestinian dialects, for which the Amarna tablets remain a leading source. Nuzu⁽³⁾, Boğazköy and Ugarit have supplied so much material for the study of Hurrian that Tušratta's Mitanni letter is becoming better understood, while more Hurrian lexical elements scattered through many other Amarna documents are placed in clearer

(1) RA XIX, pp. 91-108, including the facsimile of the text Thureau-Dangin published under the title "Une lettre d'Amenophis (III ou IV)", *Recueil d'Études Égyptologiques dédiées à . . . Champollion*, Paris, 1922.

(2) They are there referred to by the letters "A" to "H". Here, however, they are called *370 to *377 respectively.

(3) Generally called "Nuzi".

light⁽¹⁾. Furthermore, progress in Accadian, Hittite and Egyptian has, now an immediate, now an ultimate, bearing on Amarna studies. Thus, scholars who control two or more of the fields involved are in a position to make combinatory contributions. For example, W. F. Albright has showed that the letters of Abi-Milki, Prince of Tyre, contain Egyptianisms that point to the Egyptian origin of the scribe (JEA XXIII, 1937, pp. 190-203). (For another combinatory contribution, see J. Friedrich, *Orientalia* XI, 1942, pp. 109-118.) Then again, in dealing with many moot historical questions, such as the dates of the Exodus and Israelite Conquest, one must also reckon with the evidence from Amarna as well as with the steady stream of other epigraphical and archeological discoveries.

The eight new texts are of varied contents; for, in addition to royal letters, they include a vocabulary, a list of gods and what appear to be literary fragments and writing exercises.

The letters (fragments *370-*372) are written on more finely made and somewhat thinner tablets than the others (*373-*377), which served as texts and exercises in the Egyptian school for cuneiform scribes. Not requiring the delicacy of texture becoming a king's correspondence, these school texts are coarsely fashioned and rather thicker than the rest⁽²⁾. Yet, perhaps because school texts need to be sturdy to withstand class-room wear, they are baked no less than the letters exchanged between Egypt and Western Asia.

(¹) To mention only a couple of points bearing on Hurrian words that occur in Accadian texts of the Amarna Age: (1) The Canaanite gloss *ka-[z]i-ra* (= Heb. קציר) "harvest" shows that *ka-si-ga* (*baqānu*) in K 244 : 14 means "(to cut) crops". Amarna *ka-si-ga* = Nuzu *ka-aš-ka* (var. *ga-sa-ga* etc. : see DNT, § 4. 17, no. 88), the Hurrian word for "crops". --- (2) It is now well known that "Canaan" corresponds to Amarna *ki-na-aḥ-ni* (K 137 : 76), var. *ki-na-aḥ-na* (K 151 : 50). That "Canaan" is of Hurrian derivation squares with the fact that the Egyptians called Canaan "Ḥurru-land"; e. g., Pap. Anast. "Canaanite slaves from Ḥurru-land" (GdA, p. 89).

(²) The dimensions are summarized in the following table :

	<i>Fragment</i>	<i>length</i>	<i>width</i>	<i>thickness</i>
letters . .	* 370	4.0 cm.	4.5	1.5
	* 371	6.8	6.0	3.2
	* 372	4.0	2.8	1.6
school texts	* 373	9.2	8.5	3.2
	* 374	7.0	10.0	4.0
	* 375	6.0	5.0	2.0
	* 376	6.0	7.4	3.2
	* 377	4.0	2.0	2.5

With one exception, the tablets come from the Records Office, in which the original find was made. Fragment *371, however, was discovered in a clerk's house to the south of the Records Office.

Fragment *370

This tablet is the Records Office copy of the sixth known letter from the Pharaoh to a dependent chieftain⁽¹⁾. It is addressed to Iitiya, the "man" (= "governor") of Ascalon, on the occasion of the appointment of a new Egyptian commissioner to that city.

Iitiya⁽²⁾ is to be identified with Witiya⁽³⁾, the governor of Ascalon, seven of whose letters to the Pharaoh are already known (K 320-326).

Like most Egyptian officials in Asia, Iriyama[], commissioner to Ascalon, has an Egyptian name⁽⁴⁾. In (W)itiya's other letters, only Rianapa (= *r^c-nfr*?) is specifically named as commissioner of the Pharaoh (K 326 : 17). However, it now appears that at least two Egyptian commissioners were stationed, at different times, at Ascalon during the governorship of (W)itiya⁽⁵⁾. In K 321 : 15 ff., (W)itiya assures the Pharaoh of obedience to his commissioner. Pending further evidence, the identity of the latter with Iriyama[] (now named for the first time in the extant Amarna correspondence) is as possible as his identity with Rianapa.

Fragment *370 largely parallels *367. In fact, to judge from the surviving portions of *370 the letters differ seriously only as regards personal and place names. Now *367 is a command from the Pharaoh to a governor (1) to guard his post for Egypt, (2) to obey

(1) The others are K 99, 162, 163, *367 and *369. Only the last two are complete.

(2) *Itia* possibly contains the hypocoristic suffix *-ia* and may consequently be the equivalent of אִתִּיאל (Proverbs 30 : 1). Compare furthermore *"ili-it-ti-ia* "God-is-with-me" in the Nuzu tablets (E. Chiera, *Publications of the Baghdad School* I, Paris, 1927, text 43 : 2).

(3) Written *"wi(Pl)-it-ia*, which K normalizes as *Widia*. The same sign indicates either *it* or *id*, but our text shows that here the former value is preferable. For the loss of the *w* in *Itia*, see the note on *370 : 7.

(4) Albright (on p. 14 of his "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* V, 1946, pp. 7-25) reads the name as "Iriyamašša" reflecting Egyptian *'ry-ms(w)* "a companion is born". Albright sees the same name in *I-ri-ma-ia-aš-ša* (K 130 : 11).

(5) See GdA, pp. 364 f., n. 2, for a list of the Egyptian commissioners mentioned in the Amarna letters.

a newly appointed commissioner and (3) to supply royal troops with food and drink (cf. GdA, p. 359). (W)itiya assures compliance with the first of these orders in K 320 : 16 f., 321 : 24 ff., 322 : 15 f., 323 : 10, 325 : 10 f. and 326 : 9. In addition to the passages cited in the preceding paragraph, he guarantees obedience to the royal commissioner (the second of the orders) in K 322 : 18 ff. and 326 : 13 f. Although the third of these orders is not preserved in Fragment *370, we know that (W)itiya must have received it at some time or other, for in K 324 : 12 ff. (cf. 325 : 15 ff.) he states that he has provided the king's soldiers with supplies. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may tentatively suppose that the missing section in *370 was quite similar to lines 8-21 of *367.

Transliteration

a-na ^{mi}i-ti-ia amêl âli aš-qâ-
lu-n[a^k]ⁱ
qî-bi-ma um-ma šarru-ma
a-nu-m[a]
tuḫ-ḫa an-na-a uš-le-bi-la-ku
qâ-bi-e a-na ka-a-ša ù
u[š]-sur
5) lu-ù na-ša-ra-ta aš-ru
šarri
ša it-ti-ka

Translation

To Itiya, the "man" of the city
of Ascalo[n],
speak! Thus saith the king:
No[w]
this tablet I send thee,
saying unto thee: So be on thy
g[u]ard!
Mayest thou guard the place
of the king
which with thee (is entrusted).

a-nu-ma šarru um-le-(m)eš-
š[i-ra-ku]

^{mi}i-ri-ia-ma-[]

a[mêl]r[âbiš]a š[a šarri]

(about 13 lines missing)

rev.) ù lu-ù [ti-i-dî i-nu-ma]

ša-lim šarru k[i-ma ^dšamaš^{as}]

25) i-na ^dsa-me-e [ummân^{mes}-šu]

^{iš}narkabâtî^{mes}-š[u] ma-a-d[u]

i-na mâti elîti^{ti(m)} a-d[i mâti

šaplîti^{ti(m)}]

šî-it ^dšamaš^{as} a-di e-ri-i[b]

^d[ša]maš^{as}

ma-gal šul-mu

Now the king hath sen[t
thee]

Iriyama[]

(As) co[mmissi]oner o[f the king]

And verily [mayest thou know
that]

the king is hale a[s the sun]
in heaven. [His soldiers (and)]
hi[s] chariots [are] many.

From the Upper Land unt[o
the Lower Land,]

(from) the rising of the sun
unto the settin[g] of the [s]un,
(there is) much peace.

Notes

1. The URU-sign with names of cities is probably to be read in many instances in these texts. It does not always seem to be a silent determinative. This URU may itself have the postdeterminative KI; e. g., $\dot{a}l^{ki} \dot{u}-ga-ri-te$ (K 126: 6, cf. 37, 60 and 129: 18).

4. The direct discourse is introduced by the conjunction \dot{u} .

5. Cf. the subjunctive function of $\dot{l}\dot{u}$ + permansive; see A. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., 1926, p. 41.

7. MEŠ has the value $e\dot{s}$ here. Professor Goetze informs me that MEŠ = $e\dot{s}$ is well attested in the Boğazköy tablets. This correspondence may have a phonetic explanation. There is a sound that may be described as a voiced bilabial spirant that is varyingly represented in the orthography as b , m , w or even zero. Thus *mušelmû* "surveyor(s)" is written in the following ways at Nuzu: *mu-še-el-bu-û*, *mu-še-el-mu*, *mu-še-el-wu* and *mu-šel-û*⁽¹⁾ (DNT, § 1. 14). In the last example, u (< *mu*) exactly parallels $e\dot{s}$ (< *meš*).

23 ff.: duplicated in K 162: 78-81 and the fragmentary 163: reverse. Lines 27, 28 are omitted in the closing sections of K 99 and *367. Cf. *369: 24-32.

27. *ina* "from" (rather than "in" here) calls to mind Egyptian *m*, which means "from" as well as "in" (see, for example, A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, p. 29); for Ugaritic, Hebrew and Aramaic *b* "from", see *Orientalia* X, 1941, p. 358.

29. MA-GAL is rendered as *danniš* by Knudtzon and others. However, *magal* may well be an Accadian word to judge from the spelling *ma-ga-al* (see A. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 329).

Fragment *371

Although the opening and concluding sections are missing and no single line is complete, it is clear that this letter was sent by a Syrian chieftain to the Pharaoh. The Syrian locality of the sender is fixed by the mention of the city of Šehlal in line 19, while

(¹) Written *mu-ŠAL-û*. Signs with values consisting of "consonant plus *a* plus consonant" often stand for "consonant plus *i/e* plus consonant" (see DNT, § 1.5). Thus ŠAP = *šip* in K 137: 21 and ŠAR = *šir* in K 126: 7 etc. In the latter example *uš-ŠAR* = II₁ inf. *uššir* (*quttil* for *quttul* as in *uš-šir*, K 264: 9, and *pu-ḫi-ir*, K 264: 6).

the royalty of the addressee is evident from the titles in lines 13 and 30.

The city of Šeḫlal and its soldiers have otherwise been known to us only from K 62. The latter tablet was sent from Abdi-Aširta, the wily Amurru chieftain, to Paḫa(m)nata, who resided in Simyra (Šumur), filling the office of Egyptian commissioner to the Amurru. Abdi-Aširta, whose activities are limited to the reign of Amenophis III (GdA, p. 347, n. 1), narrates that he found Simyra defenseless against the soldiers of Šeḫlal (lines 9 ff.). He had left the city of Irqat and come to Simyra, where he rescued the commissioner's "house" (= palace) from the Šeḫlal invaders (13 ff.). Had he not come, the men of Šeḫlal would have burned Simyra and the palace there (16 ff.). He found the palace deserted except for four survivors, who begged him, and not in vain, to save them (23 ff.). However, twenty-five residents of the palace had already been slain (33 f.). The commissioner is then requested to give no credence to reports, circulated by opponents and rivals, to the effect that Abdi-Aširta is betraying the cause of Egypt⁽⁴⁾.

Conceivably, *371 is Abdi-Aširta's letter to Amenophis III, touching upon the same incident. My tentative restorations in lines 12-18 and 25-32 (see the notes) are partly based on this assumption. If such is the authorship of *371, it appears that Abdi-Aširta claims to be defending Simyra and the interests of Egypt in general (12 ff.). He asks the Pharaoh to aid him in helping the Egyptian cause (14 ff.) and warns him that continued negligence will lay the district open to the assaults of the Šeḫlal host (18 f.). If Abdi-Aširta had not left Irqat and come to Simyra with his forces, the men of Šeḫlal would have burned Simyra and the "house" (= palace) and killed the people in the "house" and wrested the city from Abdi-Aširta, who was protecting it for Egypt (25 ff.). Then comes a reference to some inhabitants, who were (almost?) captured and sold into slavery (32 f., 35 ff.).

Hitherto, only K 60-64 and possibly 65 comprised the corpus of Abdi-Aširta's letters, and much of this is fragmentary. Writers have held that he was a two-faced villain, while his enemy, Rib-

(4) Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York, 1931, p. 159. --- For a more recent discussion of Abdi-Aširta see J. de Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven en het Oude-Testament inzonderheid uit historisch oogpunt*, Delft, 1940, pp. 129 ff.

Addi of Byblos, was a faithful saint⁽⁴⁾. This impression is derived from Rib-Addi's letters, which have survived in greater number (K 68 ff.). Abdi-Aširta emphatically denies the accusations made against him (K 62 : 39 ff.) and, while I do not intend to present an apology for Abdi-Aširta, I am not displeased to see the accused (whose enemies have thus far had most of the say) given an opportunity to tell more of his side of the story. The Asiatic kinglets, like Rib-Addi and Abdi-Aširta, should not be divided into martyrs and rascals, from the Egyptian viewpoint. They did not try to change Egyptian rule for another. Instead, they exploited, as well as they could, relations with the Egyptians and Hittites and used bedouin troops to widen their sphere, not against Egypt, but against rival kinglets (GdA, pp. 358 ff.).

Transliteration	Translation
10) [] ū?-ul[]	[] n]ot? []
[] i?-na? qâtê ^{mes} [] a?	[] i]n? the hands []?
[] -i]a? a-na-ša-a[r]-šū-nu	[] m]y? [] I shall guar[d]
	them
[] r]abîtu ^{tu} a-di šarri	[] the g]reat [] till the
^a šamaš	king, the sun,
[] -l]ik a-na ardê ^{mes} -šū	[] to his servants
15) [] bēli-ia a-di	[] my lord, till
[] -a]r aš-ri-šū ù	[] his place and
[] bēli-ia ki-iš	[] my lord flayed? is
[] ia-nu lîb-bā ša-na-	[] there is no other
a(m)!	heart
[] ummân ^{mes} âli šî-iḫ-la-[l]i	[] troops of the city of Šeh-
	la[l]
20) [] -di i-nu-ma la-a (era-	[] that not (era-
sure?)	sure?)
[] ù ti-iš-ba-tu-ni(m)	[] and they seized
[] ^{hi} qa-du amêlê ^{mes} ša	[] together with the men that
lo. ed.) [] la-ki a-na pa-ni-šū	[] to his presence
[] -ru amêlê ^{mes}	[] co[mm]iss-
r[â]bî[šē] ḫu? []	ion[ers]? []
25) [] en-ni-ri-ir	[] I hastened

(4) Cf. J. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 2nd ed. New York, 1919, pp. 352 f., 382 ff. and J. Baikie, *The Amarna Age*, London, 1926, pp. 351 f.

rev.) [q]a-du	[to]gether with
ⁱ³ narkabâti ^{bâ-i} [a]	m[y] chariots
[]-ia ù ša-ar-pu[ni(m)?]	my [], they (would have)
	burned
[]-ši ù ma-aḫ-šú-ni(m)	its [] and smitten
[] ša i-na lîb-bi bîti ^{ti}	[] that were in the midst of
	the house
30) [] âl ^{ki} šarri bêli-ia iš-lu	[] the city of the king, my
	lord, from
[m]a-ḫi-iš ma-ḫi-iš ù	[is s]mitten (yea) smitten and
[]-ka? i-na kaspi ^{bâ}	[] thy? [] for money.
[-t]u pa-ni šarrâni ^{meš}	[] the presence of kings
[]-bi-šû-nu ?	[] of. them ?
iš-bat	he seized?
35) [â]t ^{ki} ù ab-lu-?	[ci]ty? and carried off?
[i]?[-n]a? muḫḫi?-ia ù	[]a[g]ainst? me and
[m] ^{es} -šû-nu i-na kaspi	[] their []s for money
[-r]u amêlê ^{meš} , â[bi]šû	[] commi[ssi]oners
ḫ[u?]	?
[]AN[]?	[]?[]?

Notes

10. K 62 : 16 suggests the restoration [šum-ma] ú-ul "If (I had) not (done so and so)".

11 f. Perhaps to be restored: a[-na šarri bêli-i]a a-na-ša-a[r]-šû-nu "for the king, my lord, I shall guard them". Cf. K 60 : 9, 18 f. The acc. suffix -šunû, instead of -šunûlî, is also found in Nuzu (DNT, § 2. 21).

13. Possibly to be reconstructed, after K 147 : 62, [âlu r]abîtu^{tu} "the great city". The "great city" is Simyra, the Egyptian garrison town (K 76 : 36). It is mentioned in Accadian, Egyptian, Greek and Latin sources as well as in the Bible, where its gentilic, רַעְמָרִי, occurs in Gen. 10 : 18 = I Chron. 1 : 16. See O. Weber in K, p. 1141, Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* VIII, 1928, pp. 236 f. and R. J. Braidwood, *Syria* XXI, 1940, pp. 218-21.

14. Many passages (e. g., K 114 : 20 f., 48 f.) indicate a reconstruction like [i-mal-]îk a-na ardê^{meš}-šû "he (the king) will pay attention to his servants".

15. The traces grudgingly allow the almost necessary reading [šarr]i bêli-ia "the king, my lord" (line 30, K 63 : 1 etc.).

16. [*a-na-ša-a*]_r *aš-ri-šu* "I shall guard his place" is conceivable. See *370 : 5 for *ašru* in the sense of a colonial post assigned by the Pharaoh to a local ruler.

17. The vertical wedge before *bêli-ia* suggests [*a-n*]_a "to". *Ki-iš* is difficult. The combination *per se* could be the permansive I₁ of *kâšu* "to flay, slaughter" but the broken context obscures the identity of the word.

18. K 136 : 41 indicates the restoration [*šum-ma*] *ia-nu lib-bá ša-na-a(m)*! "if there is not another heart (= a better policy)". Compare the beginning of HÁ in line 32 with the end of this AM; note the scribe's treatment of this wedge cluster. The dropping of final *m* from signs whose classical value calls for the *m*, is common (DNT, § 1.6). (It will also be recalled that starting from the Middle Babylonian period, mimation tends to be dropped.). This explains the puzzling *ni-mu-UD-ri-ia* (K 31 : 1), for UD = *ûm(u)* with *m* dropped > *û*.

19. Šehlal must have been in the vicinity of Simyra and Irqat, though its exact location is not known. Condor proposed an identification with modern Šellâla, which lies east of Baṭrûn on the Nahr el-Jôze (see Weber in K, pp. 1142 f.).

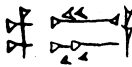
20. At the beginning of the line some form of *edû* "to know" is perhaps to be restored; e. g., [*li-*]_{di} *i-nu-ma* "may he (the king) know that".

21. Note the Canaanism *ti-iš-ba-tu-ni(m)* "they (not ye!) seized". This form is very common in Ugaritic (Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, Rome, 1940, p. 52). In Hebrew it is virtually limited to the fem. תִּקְטְלֶנָּה (not יִקְטְלֶנָּה*) "they (f.) will kill". However, note the masc. וְהֵם תִּכְּפוּ לְרִגְלֶךָ "and they! are smitten at thy foot" (Deut. 33 : 3).

22. Quite likely [*âla*]^{ki} "the city" is to be read. In normal Accadian we should not hesitate to construe the last signs as *amêlê^{meš}-ša* "its (f.) men"; i. e., the men of the city (f.). However, if the dialect is that of Abdi-Aširta's letters, the 3 f. s. suffix is not *-ša* but *-ši* (properly the corresponding acc. suffix); cf. K 62 : 12, 20, 24, 25, 28. See [*bîta*]-*ši* in line 28 of the present text.

23. The first word may be a form of *alâku* "to go".

24. []-*ru* is perhaps some form of *šapâru* "to send," referring to the sending of royal commissioners. The ideogram for "commissioner" is defectively preserved in this text (24, 38). Its

full form in the Amarna script is  (cf. RA XIX, p. 94).

25. It is not inconceivable that the line began with *šum-ma la* "if I had not hastened" (then all the following things might have happened).

26. K 62 : 13, 21 point to [*a-na-ku*] "I" at the opening of the line.

27. The lacuna before *-ia* probably contained a military term parallel to "chariots". Provisionally, I suggest [*ū ummāni^{mes}*]-*ia* "and my troops".

27 f. The permansive in the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition might well reproduce the Canaanite perfect (e. g., Judges 14 : 18).

28. The traces grudgingly permit the restoration [*bīla-*]*ši* "its house"; i. e., the commissioner's residence of that city (f.). See note on line 22.

29. A likely reconstruction, following K 62 : 25, is [*amêlē^{mes}*] *ša* etc. "the men who were in the midst of the house".

32, 37. Do these lines refer to the (threatened?) sale of faithful subjects as slaves? — Since *kašpu* may refer to any medium of exchange (not necessarily "silver"), it is translated by the admittedly anachronistic word "money".

33. Read possibly [*iš-t*]*u pa-ni* "[fro]m the presence".

36. If the problematic characters of this line have been read correctly, the following may be restored: [*nukurtu i*]*na muḥḥiyā* "(there is) hostility against me". It is interesting to note an alternative explanation of K 69 : 14, which Knudtzon reproduces and interprets as follows: *i-na nu-gur-ti^{mes} ša muḥ-ḥi* (!) "mit Feindlichkeiten, welche gegen (mich sind)". As in Nuzu (DNT, § 6.2) *ša* may here be used instead of *ina*. Therefore it is permissible to translate "with hostility against me".

38. Cf. note on line 24.

Fragment *372

This fragment of a letter is too small to be restored or interpreted.

Fragment *373

This vocabulary is another copy of the second tablet of the series *diri* | *DIR* (= *siyaku*) | *watru*, which has been reconstructed by B. Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie* II, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* III, 3, 1929,

p. 1-22⁽¹⁾. The second column contains the sign to be explained; the first, the Sumerian reading; the third, the Accadian values.

This tablet was found in two pieces. The lower piece has hieratic signs scrawled upon it and is ink-stained up to where it joins the upper fragment. The latter, however, bears no trace of ink. The hieratic characters, therefore, were probably written after the tablet had been broken. I have showed the rather badly worn hieratic to several Egyptologists but it was too far gone for any of them to read.

Sumerian	Sign	Accadian	Translation
[si-iz-kur]	SIZKUR	<i>ni-[qú-u]</i>	sa[crifice]
		<i>n[a-]</i>	?
		<i>n[a-]</i>	?
		<i>i[k-ri-bu]</i>	p[ayer]
5)		<i>na-q[ú-ú]</i>	off[er]
		<i>te-iš-[li-tu]</i>	suppli[cation]
		<i>te-iz-z[i-]</i>	?
		<i>te-ni-nu</i>	beseeking
		<i>ki-i[t]-[u-bu]</i>	p[r]a[y]
10)		<i>ri-ša-</i>	?
zu-ur-zu-ur	ZURZUR	<i>ku-nu-u</i>	treat well
		<i>ku-ti-nu-u</i>	handle well
		<i>ti-ik-ni-tu[m]</i>	perfection
		<i>šú-uh-ḫu</i>	request?
15) la-aḫ	LAḪ ₄	<i>ri-du-ú</i>	tread
		<i>ba-ba-l[u(m)]</i>	brin[g]
		<i>ša-la-lu(m)</i>	spoil
		<i>[ku]-un?-n[u?]</i>	[tr]eat [well]?

Notes

For the hitherto known values of these ideograms, see ŠL (SIZKUR = no. 438, p. 842; ZURZUR = no. 437 49, p. 841; LAḪ₄ = no. 206 a, p. 430). Lines 2, 3, 7, 10 and 13 contain, in varying degree of preservation, additional Accadian equivalents.

(1) On this general type of vocabulary, sometimes called id | A | *na-a-qu*, see the introduction to, and plates 1-23 of, CT XII; Ungnad, "Das Vokabular C 2, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LXXI, 1917, pp. 121-136; BA, p. 349.

Fragment *374

Each side of this tablet is divided into two sections by a longitudinal line. On the right is a list of gods. Unfortunately, the writing on the left is too fragmentary to be read. Possibly the text is one of the explanatory lists of gods like those in CT XXV.

Notes

11. ^a*a-nu-ni-tu(m)*. For this goddess, who has close affinities with Ištar in her rôle as goddess of battle, see BA, p. 27 and Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I, p. 110, article "Annunitu".

12. Perhaps ^aLUGAL-E[N] is to be read. If so, the Semitic equivalent is ^a*šarru-bē[l]*. The combination is not attested elsewhere, as far as I know.

13. ^aVII-VII-BI = *imin(a)-bi* = Accadian *sibitti-šunū* "The Pleiades" (see Bezol l-Goeze, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, p. 209). Cf. BA, pp. 6, 26, and PB, pp. 233-5 and AG, p. 442. Note the repetition of the numeral.

14. ^aMAŠ-TAB-BA = *ilān* or *ilu kīlallān* (Gemini) "The Twin Godhead". Cf. BA, p. 36 and AG, p. 442. It is interesting to note that ^aVII-BI is followed by ^aMAŠ-TAB in another text (PB, p. 243a).

15. ^aHUL-A. Cf. (?) AG, p. 321, where HUL[-] = Ištar.

30. ^aLU[G]AL?; cf. line 12.

31. ^aTI?-TI is not otherwise known to me. On the left the signs are possibly to be read KU-[?]-NA.

32. ^aKA₄-KA₄. Can this be a variant spelling of ^aKA-KA? Cf. PB, no. 1642, p. 153b and ŠL, no. 15 (90), p. 57.

33. ^aBI is listed in PB, no. 393, p. 80b and ŠL, no. 214 (50), p. 447. On the left read TI-N[A].

34. ^aAMAR? Cf. PB, no. 233, p. 64a and ŠL, no. 437 (14), p. 840.

Fragment *375

The vertical line suggests that the obverse was intended for a vocabulary (cf. *373). On the reverse there is a horizontal line above the writing. The fragment begins with [^al] *ag-ga-ti a-na[]* "[the ci]ty of Accad to []". The mention of this city, as Dr. Albright first observed, makes it probable that the passage is part of the Šar Tamḥari epic, celebrating the exploits of Sargon of Accad

in Cappadocia. In the second line are the following: URU TAR ZU Ú. The first of these may well be the ideogram for *álu* "city". Perhaps the next three signs are to be read *tar-šú-ú* "direction, period, etc.". The rest is illegible. It is possible that the student-scribe had begun to erase the reverse for another writing exercise.

The chief extant fragment of this epic was, as mentioned above, also found at Amarna. However, a comparison of the scripts shows that our tablet is not the work of the same scribe. A small tablet of the Šar Tamḥari, found at Assur, has been published by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1920, text 138, p. 87. Cf. E. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1922. See especially the translation by Albright, "The Epic of the King of Battle", *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* VII, 1923, pp. 1-20. For a subsequent discussion see H. G. Güterbock, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLII, 1934, pp. 21 f. and particularly pp. 86-91.

Fragment *376

This poorly preserved tablet looks like a literary school text (for other examples see K, pp. 964 ff.). The language is Accadian as the form *iš-ku-un* "he placed" shows (end of line 2).

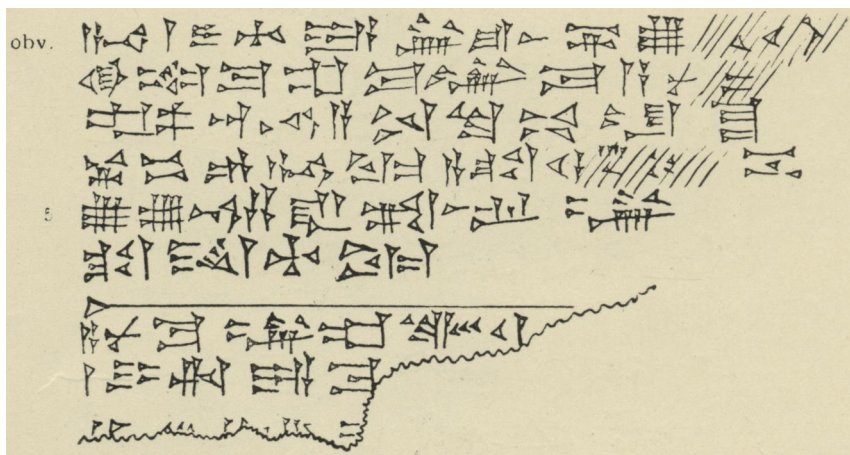
Notes

1. The first visible characters seem to be A and I.
2. The line opens with EŠ (= XXX).
3. Note GA and Ú.
4. The last legible signs may be UD BI RI.
5. At the beginning is ^dMI-[]. See ŠL, no. 427 (9, 20, 21, 22), pp. 827 f., for possible restorations. In the middle is I and at the end there seems to be []-ti-ia ID [].
6. KU is at the end.
7. Note NI []nu-ú.

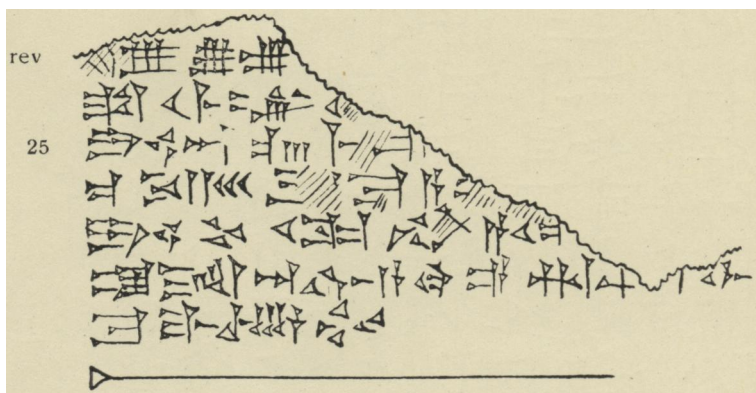
Fragment *377

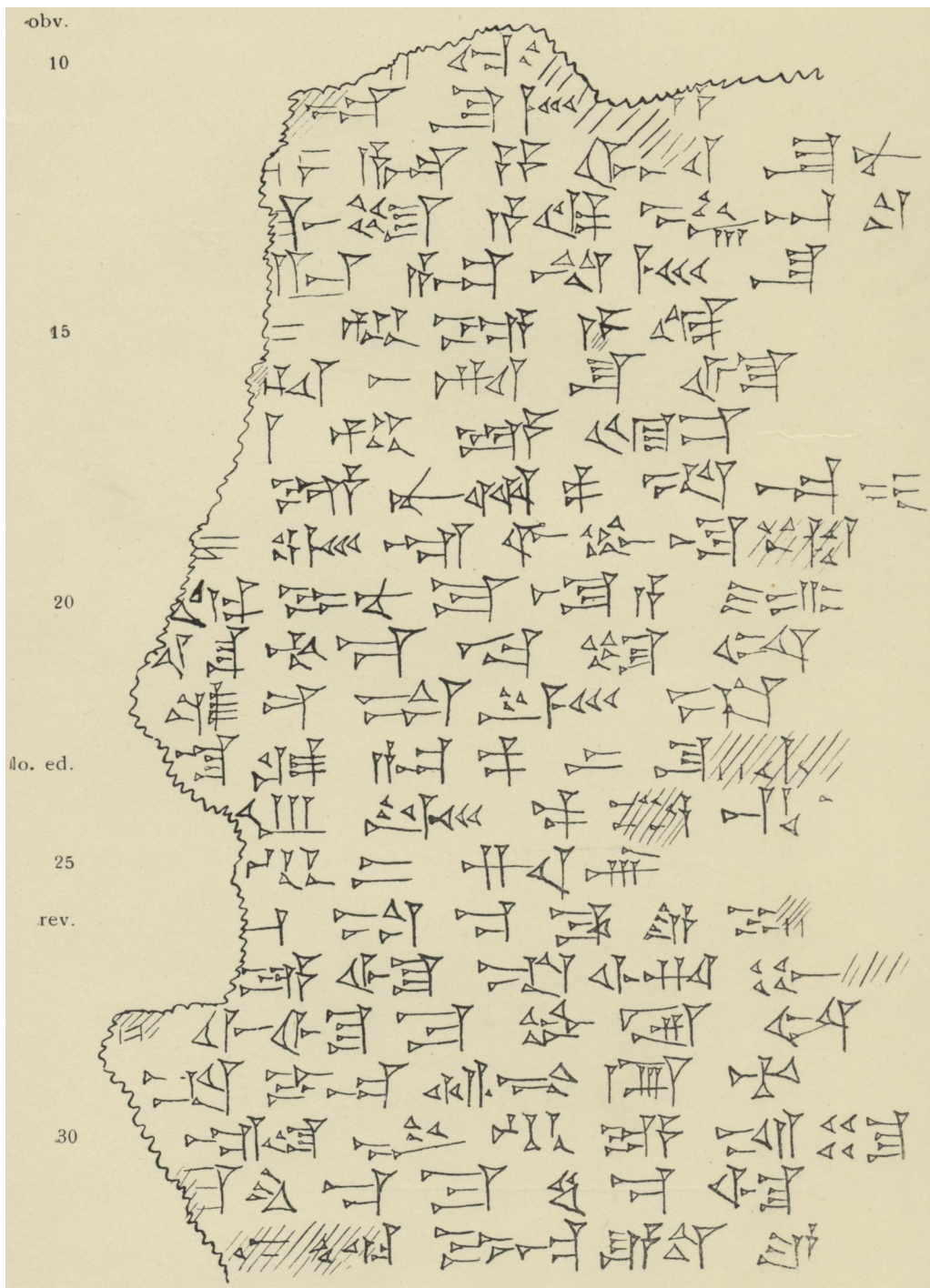
Nothing can be said of this tiny fragment other than that it is probably part of a school text. (Copied but not photographed).

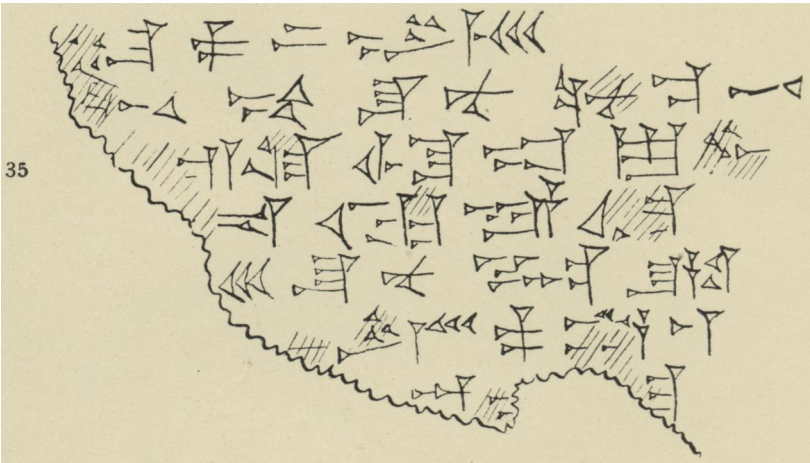
* 370.



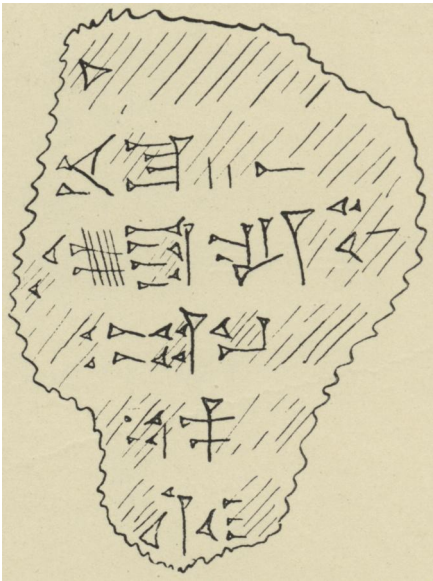
(about 13 lines missing)



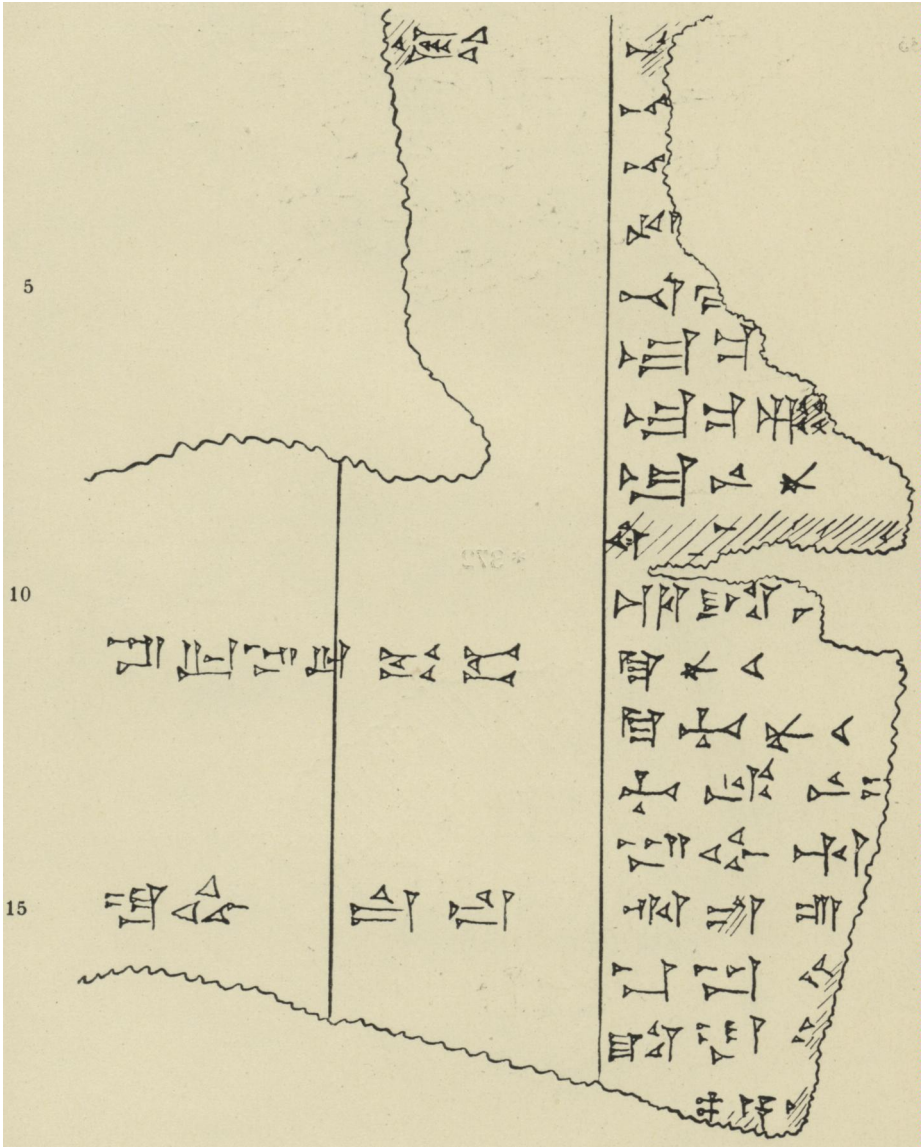




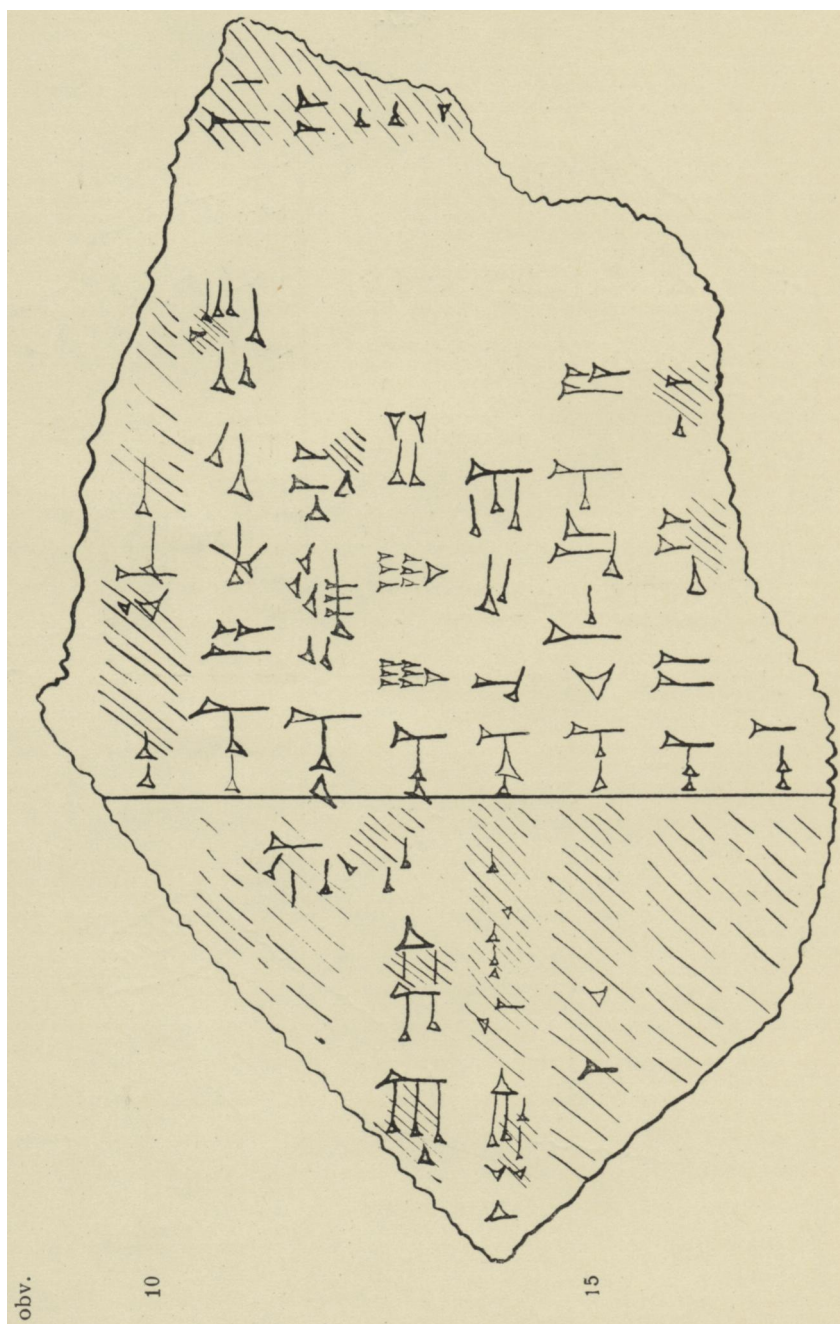
* 372



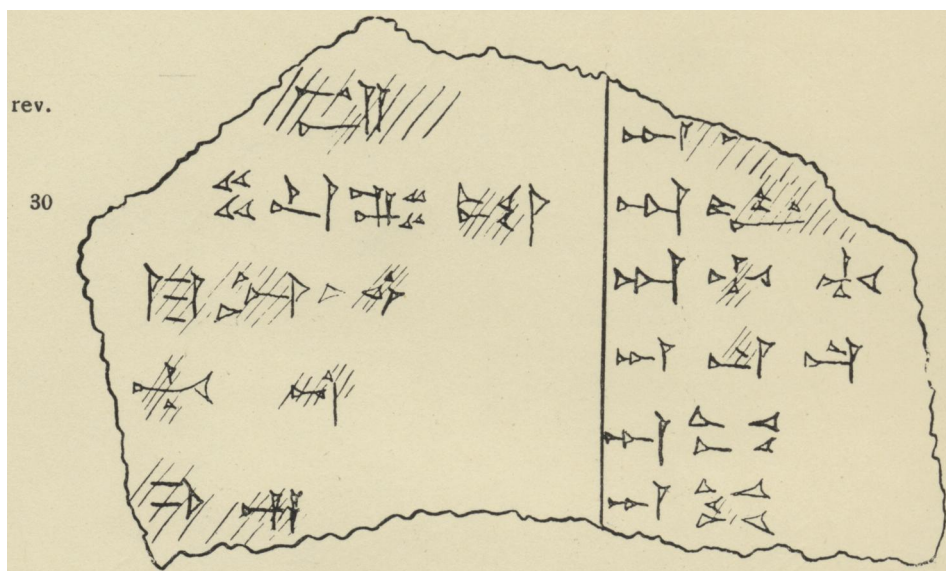
* 373



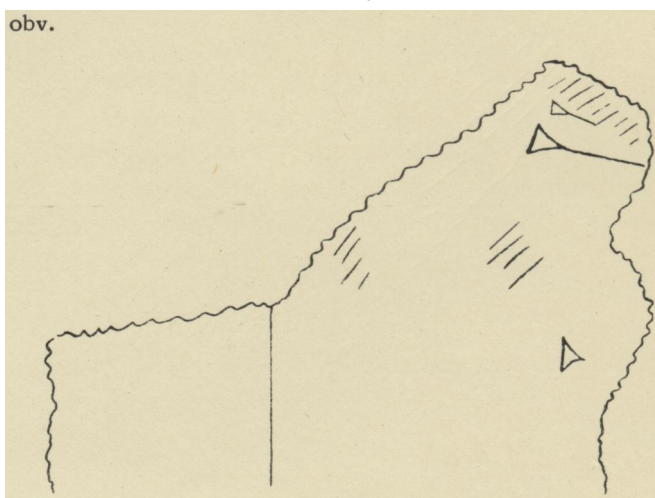
* 374



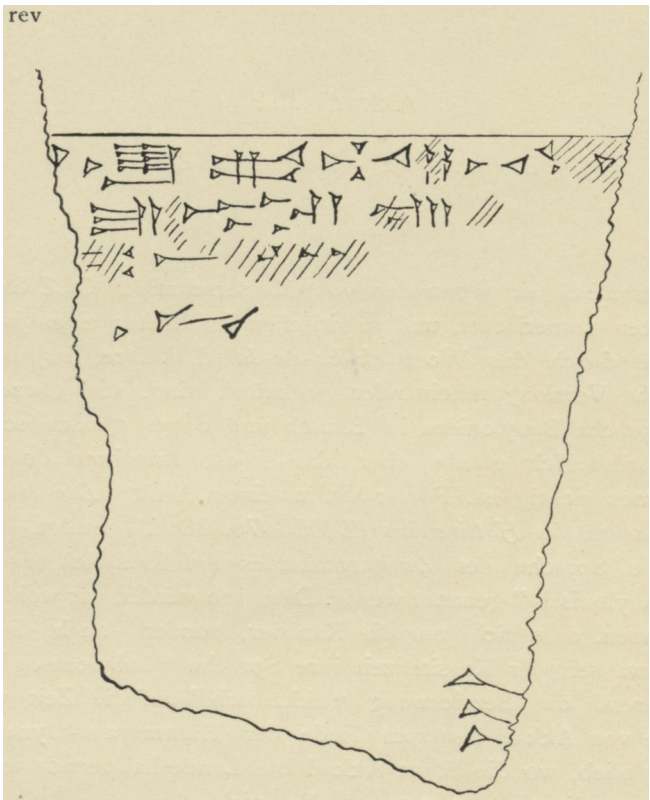
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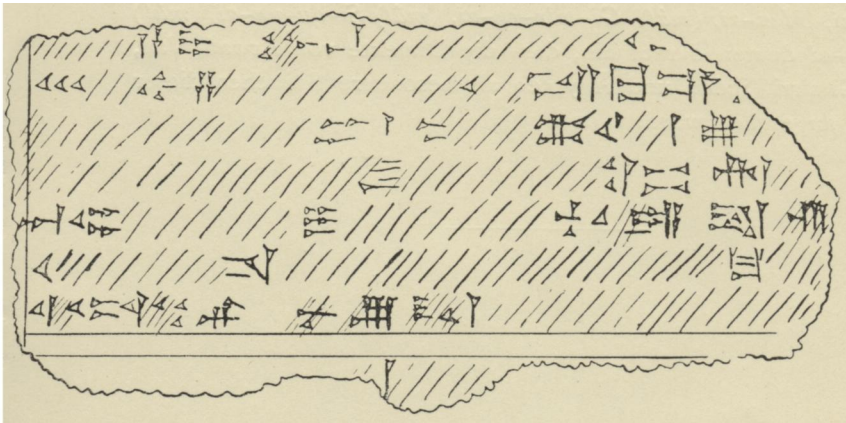
* 375



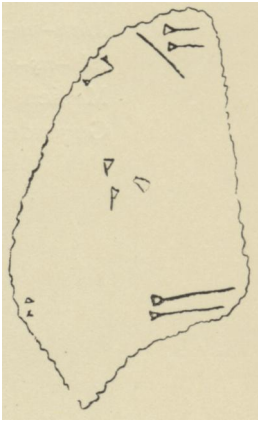
* 375



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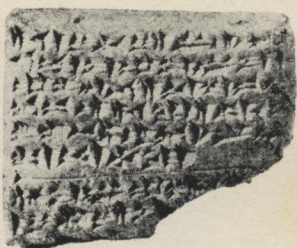


* 377



* 370

obv.



rev.

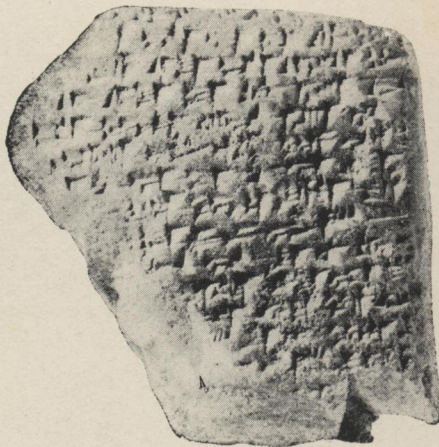


* 371

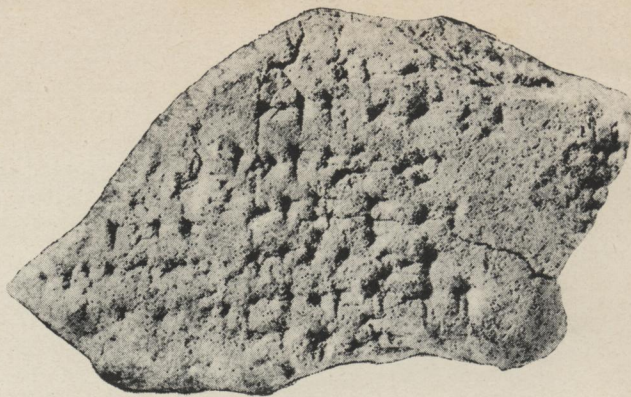
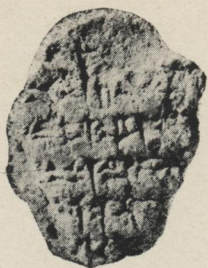
obv.



rev.



* 372 obv.



* 373

obv.

* 374

rev.



* 375 rev.

* 376



Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania

Phoenician Inscriptions from Karatepe

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PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARATEPE

By CYRUS H. GORDON, Dropsie College

DOCTORS H. Th. Bossert and U. Bahadır Alkım have published facsimiles of the inscriptions of King 'ZTWD in the second preliminary report on *Karatepe* (Istanbul, 1947), a mound in Cilicia, Asia Minor. The inscriptions, on a statue of the king and on a sculptured lion are quite similar. Indeed, everything in the lion text is duplicated in the text on the king's statue. However, the duplications are helpful in restoring missing sections and clarifying epigraphical difficulties.

'ZTWD's period falls in either the ninth or eighth century B. C. E. In private communications, Professor W. F. Albright and H. L. Ginsberg would place it late in the eighth; Professor Bossert 'around the eighth;' for epigraphical reasons, Professor Gaster would put it in the ninth. For historic and linguistic reasons, I had independently concluded it belongs in the ninth as I hope to demonstrate in the near future.

'ZTWD's realm included the plain of Adana and Beth-MPŠ, which had presumably been separate at some earlier date but, by 'ZTWD's time had been joined to form a united kingdom. The inhabitants, called Danonites (the form דננים is the m. pl. gentilic, as the י shows) are known from the Amarna tablets and inscriptions of Ramesses III (see pp. 29–30 of the report).

The proper names (אזתודי, כרתריש, ארן, מפש, דננים) take us beyond the Semitic field into the linguistically compli-

cated terrain of Anatolian studies, which I must leave to specialists.

Culturally the texts reflect ideas and institutions familiar to students of the ancient Middle East. The polytheistic אלם 'gods' is no surprise; nor the specific mention of Baal and Rešef. However, Rešef appears only in the new combination Rešef-of-the-goats, and alongside of plain 'Baal' is the native combination 'Baal-KRNTRYŠ'. The idea that a legitimate king must be divinely appointed permeates the inscription. The king is designated to look after his people as a father looks after his sons and daughters. The good, successful king may boast of putting down lawlessness and establishing peace and good living for his subjects, provided that he attributes all his triumphs and accomplishments to the grace of the gods. 'ZTWD boasts of widening his boundaries by the subjugation of recalcitrant frontier peoples. It is interesting to note that he resorts to the well-known technique of breaking the spirit of the conquered by transplanting them to remote areas. The text on the king's statue ends with a plea and curse to deter future rulers from appropriating 'ZTWD's monuments or otherwise violating his memory.

The language of these texts is Phoenician, closely related to Hebrew. One of the most characteristic features of these texts is the wide use of infinitives. For example ירחב אֲנִי (I:6) and יחו אֲנִי (I:5) are infinitives, used absolutely, of the יפעל conjugation, which appears in Phoen. where Heb. has הפעיל. Note that the inf., used absolutely, is followed by the subject in the preceding and following examples: בִּן אֲנִי (II:1; III:7, 14), ירם אֲנִי ישבם אֲנִי (II:11-12), etc. Purpose is expressed by the construct inf. with ל (the following examples are also interesting because they show the construction בִּיתוֹ מִשָּׁה instead of מִשָּׁה לְבִיתוֹ): לְכִנִּי מִשְׁמֵר (III:11-12) 'so that there might be protection',

כרנחריש בעל לחתי (III:19) 'so that B.-K. might give,'
 לשבתנם דננים (II:7) 'so that the Danonites might dwell.'

The script is as a rule unambiguous; however, 𐤕 and 𐤖 are sometimes hard to tell apart. Letters are not used to indicate vowels, not even long vowels or reduced diphthongs. There are no special forms for any final letters; the final letters in our transliterations are a late distinction unknown to the ancient Phoenician scribes. We bracket restorations and italicize conjectural translations.

Text on King's Statue

Column I

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) I am 'ZTWD, the blessed of | אנך אוחורי הברך ³ בע[ל] ⁴ |
| Baa[l], | |
| 2) servant of Baal who is | עבד בעל אש |
| great, <i>res[plendent]</i> ⁵ for] | אדר א[ור כ] ⁴ |
| 3) Ba[al] made me King of the | מלך דננים פעלן |
| Danonites, | [בע] ⁴ |
| 4) for the Danonites as a | [] ל דננים לאב |
| father [] | |
| 5) that I might quicken [my | [] יחו אנך אית |
| subjects and] | |

¹ Phoen. has — 'his' where Heb. has —ו.

² —נם 'their' is used after vowels (cf. Heb. —הם); whereas after consonants —ם occurs (cf. Heb. —ם, which however is also used after vowels).

³ The article with a noun in the construct is not unknown in Heb.; e. g., הנחלים ארנון, האלהים ביחאל (1 Sam. 10.3), האל ביחאל (Gen. 31.13), המנוח המנוחש (2 Kings 16.14; cf. 17), המלך אשור (Is. 36.16). Our Phoenician text should serve as a warning not to emend these biblical passages too hastily.

⁴ Restoration supplied by duplicates found after the publication of the report. I am indebted to Professor Bossert for his kindness in sending me a corrected copy of the report with these additions.

⁵ Tentatively I suggest *'awwîr*, an adjectival formation like *'addîr*, from the root אור 'to be light.'

- 6) widen [my boundaries as a] [ירחב אנך]
 7) *sign*,⁶ from the rising [of צין לממצא
 the sun and unto]⁷ [שמש ועד]
 8) its setting. And there מבאי וכי
 were [plenty and good-] [שבע ומנ]
 9) ness unto the Danonite[s עס לרנני]ם [מנ
 good-]
 10) ness and[עס ומ] []
 11)]and made[[] [ופעל]
 12) [] []
 13) [] []
 14) [] []
 15-19) [] []
 20) and[] []
 21) and I established [the name ושת א]נך שם אותודי]
 of 'ZTWDY]
 22) even in the la[nd. [] [אף באר]ן
 23) in the valley [] [] [בוי]

Column II

- [I set them at] my [feet] [שתנס תחת¹⁰ פעם]
 1) and I built strong walls [י] וכן אנך חמית עזת
 in all בכל
 2) the extremities on the [קצ]יית על
 borders in places wher[e גבלם במקמם בא
 3) there we]re bad men, who [ש כ]י אשם רעם בעל
 had gangs, אנדרם¹¹

⁶ If the word proves to be *šiyyn*.

⁷ Note the same prepositions as in Heb. למקטן ועד גדול.

⁸ Instead of היה, Phoen. has כון 'to be'.

⁹ In Phoen. the root 'to be good' is טוב rather than נעם.

¹⁰ While 'under' is not only a more usual, but here a more graphic, rendering of תחת, I have used 'at' because 'at the feet' is tenable in contexts where 'under the feet' is impossible; see my *Ugaritic Handbook*, Rome, 1947, § 18.2053.

¹¹ The expression in Heb. would be בַּעֲלֵי נְדוּדִים.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 4) no[ne of] whom had been
subject to Beth-MPŠ; | אש ב ⁴ ל אש עבר
כן לבת מפש |
| 5) [but] I, 'ZTWD, set them at | וואנ ⁴ ך אותור שתנם תחת |
| 6) [my feet]; and I built
walls in | פעמי ⁴ וכן אנך
חמית ב |
| 7) those [places] so that the
Danonites might dwell | מקמם ⁴ המת ¹² לשבתנם ²
דננים |
| 8) [in the ease] of their
hearts; and I subjected | בנחת ⁴ לבנם ²
וענ ¹³ אנך |
| 9) strong [lands] in the west
which [all] | ארצת ⁴ עזת במבא שמש
אש בל |
| 10) the kings who were before
me [had not subjected]; | ען כל ⁴ המלכם אש כן לפני |
| 11) [but I], 'ZTWD, subjected
them, brought them | וואנך ⁴ אותור ענתנם
יר |
| 12) down (and) settled them
at the end | דס אנך ⁴ ישבם אנך
בקצת |
| 13) [of my borders] in the east
and the Danonite[s] | גבלי ⁴ במצא שמש
ודנני |
| 14) I set[tled] there. And
there have been in [my] | ם יש ⁴ בת שם וכן
בימ |
| 15) days, [in a]ll the borders
of the plain of Adana, | תי בכ ⁴ ל גבל עמק
עדן |
| [|] |

Column III

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1) from the rising of the
sun and unto its setting,
and in places | לממצא שמש
ועד מבאי
ובמקמם |
|---|---------------------------------|

¹² Phoen. המת 'those' = Heb. הָמָּה.

¹³ = Heb. עָנָה; 'subjected' is a smoother rendering than 'afflicted'; the verb occurs in this sense also in the Mesha inscription.

¹⁴ שחע occurs also in Ugaritic as *ṣḥ* (*Ugar. Handbook* §18.2234).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2) which were formerly
feared, where a man would
be afraid | אש כן לפני
נשתעם אש
ישתע אד |
| 3) to walk the road; but in
my days a woman could | ם ללכת דרך
ובימתי אנך אשת תכ |
| 4) <i>stroll without molesters</i> ¹⁵
by the grace of Baal and | ל חרי דל פלכם
בעבר בעל ובעבר ¹⁶ |
| 5) the gods. And there were
in all my days plenty and
goodness | אלם וכן
בכל ימתי שבע
ומנעם |
| 6) and good living and ease
of heart for the Danonites | ושבת נעמת ונחת
לב לרננים |
| 7) and for all the plain of
Adana; and I built this
city | ולכל עמק
אדן ובן אנך
הקרת ז' ¹⁷ |
| 8) and the name of 'ZTWDY
because Baal and Rešef-
of-the-goats | ושם אותורי
כבעל ורשף
צפרם |
| 9) sent me to build
and I built it, by the grace of | שלחן לבנת
ובני אנך בעבר ב |

¹⁵ This passage is so difficult that I must explain the details of the interpretation I propose: אנך emphasizes the possessive pronoun of 'my days'; אשת 'a woman' parallels אדם 'a man'; the tense of f. תכל parallels that of m. ישתע; חרי is hesitantly taken to be an inf. parallel to ללכת, with the preposition idiomatically omitted after the root יכל as often in Heb. (Gen. 24.50; 37.4; Ex. 18.23; Job 4.2); perhaps the form is a const. inf. *hid* + acc. suf. (cf. חאד 'to stray from [the road]') and means 'to stray from it;' 'without molesters' is suggested by the boast of Ramses III that he so established public security that the women of Egypt could go wherever they wanted without anyone molesting them on the road (see E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* 2nd ed., II,1 pp. 593-4).

¹⁶ 'By the grace of' is the sense rather than 'for the sake of' = Heb. בַּעֲבוּר.

¹⁷ = Heb. זו 'this' (f.), not זו 'which' (ש is used for 'which' in these texts); after a m. noun Phoen. ז = Heb. זה; note the omission of the article.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 10) Baal and Rešef-of-the-goats
in plenty and goodness | על ובעבר רשף צפרם
בשבוע ובמנ |
| 11) and good living and ease
of heart so that there
might be | עם ובשבת נעמת ובנחת
לב לכני |
| 12) protection for the plain
of Adana and for Beth-MPŠ;
for in my days | משמר לעמק
ארן ולבת מפש
כבימת |
| 13) the land of the plain of
Adana had plenty and
goodness and there was no | י כן לארץ עמק
ארן שבע
ומנעם ובל כן |
| 14) adversary in my days
unto the Danonites. And
I built | מתמלל ¹⁸ בימתי
לרננים
ובן אנך ה |
| 15) this city and established
the name of 'ZTWDY and
inhabit | קרת ז ושת אנך
שם אותורי
וישב |
| 16) this hall of Baal-
KRNTYŠ, And | אנך האלם זי ¹⁹ בעל כרנתריש
וברך |
| 17) Baal-KRNTYŠ blessed
'ZTWD with | בעל כרנתריש אית
אותור בח |
| 18) life and peace and great
strength more than any
other king | ים ובשלם ובעז אדר
על כל מלך |
| 19) so that Baal-KRNTYŠ
might give to 'ZTWD | לחתי בעל כרנתריש
לאותור |
| 20) length of days and
multitude of years and
g[ood] fortune | ארך ימם ורב
שנת
ורשאת נ[עמת] ¹⁴ |

¹⁸ This meaning, which is demanded by the context, has outside support. In the cuneiform Aramaic incantation from Erech *ma-li-e mi-il-in-ni* (Orientalia 9 1940 p. 36) has this meaning; also note ממלי ממלי (Babylonian Talmud, Qiddūsīn 50a) 'those who speak words against me = my adversaries.'

¹⁹ = Heb. זך (see note 17).

Column IV

- 1) and great strength more ועז אדר על
 than any other king כל מלך
- 2) and sacrifice which [] למ [] וזבח אש י
- 3) all this [] ב [] כל המיכת זי¹⁷
- 4) this, sacrifice [] the ר [] זי זבח י
- 5) evil of sorcerer[s²⁰] [] עת חרש
- 6) [] [] ש וכמ
- 7) plenty and [] [] שבע ו
- 8) dwell [] [] ישב
- 9) Baal [] and Baal [] [] בעל [] [] ובעל ש
- 10) [] *great* (ר/ו) [] נ [] ובר [] נבר [] ובר []
- 11) and [] there passed עבר [] ובר []
 to 'ZTWD all לאותור כל
- 12) Beth-[MPŠ] by the grace of בח [מפש] בעבר
 Baal and the gods. בעל ובעבר אלם
- 13) And i[f any one] among וא[ם מל]ך במלכם
 kings and rulers[ורון בר[ז]נם
- 14) [] m]an, where there is מ [א]דם אש אדם
 a man who [שם אש י א
- 15) [] instead of the name מ [] תחת שם
 of 'ZTWD, *that* אותור המל
- 16) *evil fellow*²¹ [] and sets a [] ל [] ושת שם []
 [name], even covets [[] אף יחמד []
- 17) [] this city and says: [] ת הקרת ז ויאמר
 'I shall make [אפעל
- 18) [] and he puts his [] ל ז ב ושת שמי
 name on it [עלי זו י

²⁰ This root 'to perform sorcery' occurs in Ugaritic as well as Aramaic, (*Ugar. Handbook* §18.706).

²¹ Perhaps מלל 'one who uses words (against people) = sorcerer, adversary, evil fellow;' see note 18 and IV:4-5.

- 19) [the hall which is מל האלם אש]
 over 'ZTW[D] על אוֹחוֹר[ד]
 20) may [B]aal-KRNTRYŠ [ב]על כרנחריש אש בב ז חב
 who[
 21)] if a man [] [] א [] אש [] ח[]

Text on Lion

- [I settled] [יש]
 1) them in the extremity בם אנך בקצת
 of [my] borders [] גבל[י]
 2) built, from the rising בן למצא שמש
 of the sun and unto its ועד מבאי
 setting and [in places ו]במקמם
 which were formerly אש כן לפנם
 feared, where a man נשתעם אש
 would be afraid [ישחע אד]
 3) to walk the road; but ם ללכת דרך
 in my days a woma[n could ובימתי אנך אש]ת חכל
stroll without molesters חדי דל פלכם
 by the grace of Baal and בעבר בעל ובעבר
 the gods. And there were] אלם וכן
 4) in all my days plenty בכל ימתי שבע
 and goodness and [good] ומנעם ושבת
 living [and ease of heart [נעמת ונחת לב
 for the Danonites and for לדננים ולכל
 all the plain of Adana עמק עדן
 5)] and I established [ושת אנך
 the name of 'ZTWDY שם אוֹחוֹרִי
 6) [because Baal and Rešef-] [כבעל ורשף]
 of-the-goats sent me to צפרם שלחן
 build and [I] built it לבנת ובני [אנך
 7) [by the grace of Baal and] בעבר בעל וב]עבר
 Rešef-of-the-goats [in רשף צפרם
 plenty etc.] [בשבע וגו']

ADDENDUM

I owe to my colleague, Professor T. H. Gaster, two observations incorporated in the course of proofreading this article: (1) **אֶחָדָי** is the name of the city (-state) of King **אֶחָדָד**; (2) **רֶשֶׁף צַפְרִים** is more likely **רֶשֶׁף צַפְרִים** than **רֶשֶׁף צַפְרִים**.



The Glyptic Art of Nuzu

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THE GLYPHTIC ART OF NUZU¹

CYRUS H. GORDON

THE Nuzu (or Nuzi) tablets are clearly defined chronologically and locally. They were excavated in a mound near modern Kirkuk and date from four or five consecutive generations that fall in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Dr. Edith Porada has rendered a valuable service to students of the ancient Middle East by publishing the corpus of over a thousand seal impressions of Nuzu.

Since the lasting value of a publication of source material is the record provided of the material itself, it is important that satisfactory photographs and/or drawings be provided and well reproduced. When the scholar has well-preserved original seals at his disposal, he can roll and reroll them until he has clear impressions for photographing. However, he is less fortunate when confronted with the necessity of using ancient impressions of now-unavailable seals. The desirability of supplementing with drawings the usually unclear photographs of ancient impressions can be appreciated by the welcome drawings that Dr. Porada provides in fifty-four cases (Pls. LI–LIV). The reader's difficulty, and often helplessness, in seeing enough detail on other impressions makes him wish she had provided drawings for virtually all of the impressions. For instance, on impression No. 86, the author describes the animals as hares; from the photograph they might just as well be deer. The lack of a drawing prevents the reader from judging the merits of the case.

¹ A review article of Edith Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*. ("AASOR," Vol. XXIV for 1944–45.) New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947. Pp. viii + 138 + 54 pls. \$3.50.

However, the author's drawing of No. 483* settles the identity of an animal there as a horse rather than an ass.² Details are as important in art as they are in epigraphy; and, just as cuneiformists find that inscriptions on clay tablets must be autographed whether or not a photograph is provided, the glyptologist will find that drawings are indicated whether or not the impression on the ancient clay tablet is reproduced photographically.

Dr. Porada divides the impressions into the Common and the Elaborate styles. The Common Style (broken down into Groups I–XIV) is marked by coarse and schematic engraving on fragile material such as frit. The Elaborate Style (broken down into Groups XVI–XXVI) is more varied in content and is better executed and engraved on good stone. It is perfectly natural for both cheap and fine products of a given category to be turned out simultaneously for the popular market, on the one hand, and for the "carriage trade," on the other. The author, however, maintains (p. 13) that there was a shift from the Common to the Elaborate Style within the Nuzu period, an observa-

² The author makes the important observation on p. 33 that the horse on No. 483* is the earliest appearance of the animal in Mesopotamian art among the symbolic animals of a design. We may add that the repertoire of animals in Hammurabi's Code does not include the horse, which shows that the animal had not yet become important in the economic life of the nation. That the domesticated horse was at least known then in Babylonia is, however, clear from the Mari tablets (see Ch.-F. Jean, *Textes cunéiformes [du Louvre]*, XXIII [1941], Text 123:10, 22). We may also note, in passing, that "wild ass," not "wild horse," is evidently meant in n. 25 (p. 21). The wild ass was native in southwestern Asia. The horse, on the other hand, was introduced, already domesticated, by the Indo-Europeans in the first half of the second millennium B.C.

tion that would have to square with the valuable index of seal-owners' names on pages 126-38. The index, for example, does not assign a single Common Style seal definitely to the first Nuzu generation in which Puhišenni and Winnirki lived. The only seals definitely dated in that generation (Nos. 613, 617, and 618) are classified as belonging to the Elaborate Style. The index further shows that the last three generations are all well represented in both the Common and the Elaborate styles.

A basic problem for the scholar dealing with a body of material such as the Nuzu impressions is the differentiation of the elements into survivals, on the one hand, and innovations, on the other.³ On page 102 conclusions are unfortunately based on the misleading statements that the crossed animals on No. 16 go back to Syro-Cappadocian originals and that the theme of drinking through tubes on Nos. 18 and 19 (see also Nos. 560-63) reflect Syro-Cappadocian or Syrian influence. Such themes are exceedingly early in the heart of Mesopotamian culture itself; and, when such elements are treated historically, they must be traced back as far as our sources enable us without ending our investigation at some prejudicially selected point along the way. Thus, crossed animals go back, in well-developed form, to Early Dynastic times (e.g., see the Early Dynastic III illustration in *CS*,⁴ Pl. XIIc); but we must also remember that the process began as early as the Uruk Age (*CS*,

³ Complicating factors may render the scholar's task difficult. For example, older seals may be copied even as modern artists sometimes imitate antiques. Older seals were used in Nuzu, and it is hard to understand why the author (p. 97) feels that they were not copied in Nuzu.

⁴ Note the following abbreviations: *CS*—H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939); *GdA*—E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. II, Pt. 1 (2d ed.; Stuttgart and Berlin, 1928); *UH*—C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome, 1947). Ugaritic text references are according to the edition of the texts in Part II of this book.

Pl. IVe, where the beasts' forelegs are crossed; or IVf, *h*, where the beasts' necks are intertwined). Then, again, drinking through tubes is abundantly attested in Early Dynastic III (*CS*, Pls. XIVf, XVf), when it was probably an already old technique. Similarly, concerning seals such as No. 505* it should be pointed out that the goddess in flounced dress and with raised hands continues a tradition going back at least to Ur III (see *CS*, Pl. XXVe). Nor can symmetry be given as a distinctive feature of Mitanni style (pp. 56, 107) without reference to the high frequency of symmetric seal themes since Uruk times (*CS*, Pl. IVe, *f*, *j*, *l*). Furthermore, realism in rendering the human form should hardly be called a characteristic feature of Mitanni style (pp. 56, 107) without cognizance of the fact that the trait is much better exemplified in the Accad Age.

The author properly endeavors to identify the foreign elements (e.g., pp. 47-52). However, we must avoid deriving from abroad what has long been native at home. The eagle in Nos. 18 and 19 has nothing to do with the Egyptian Horus ornithologically, in style or historically (p. 115). The Mesopotamian forerunners mentioned in note 242 are not "a source of influence" on an Egyptian Horus original but comprise the origin without any Egyptian influence.

It is desirable to correlate our evidence from the various available sources, written as well as artistic. Thus, apropos of the Cassite influence in the glyptic art of Nuzu (Nos. 684-94; cf. pp. 105-6), it might be worth noting that the Nuzu tablets witness direct contacts with the Cassites. The notorious Nuzu mayor Kuš-šiharbe bears a clearly Cassite name. We might also note the occurrence of the gentilic *ku-uš-šu-ub-ḫa-i*, "Cassite," in the Nuzu tablets (*Orientalia*, VII [1938], 50,

§ 4.10). More significant is the phenomenon of what the author calls "violent" action (p. 51, on No. 659) that characterizes so many Mitanni seals. We cannot fail to note the fact that around the middle of the second millennium B.C. a new vitality and vividness of action are injected into the art of the Middle East, all the way from Egypt⁵ to east of the Tigris. That the source of this liveliness might be Crete or Mycene is mentioned only incidentally in connection with an isolated detail (p. 119). The role of Crete (and Mycene) as the point of origin of the new vitality in the art of the Middle East has long been recognized; but we now have fresh evidence. The god of the arts and crafts in the Ugaritic poems is Kṭr-w-Ḫss, whose abode is given as *kptr* (ʿnt:VI:14) = Hebrew כְּפֶתֶר, "Crete"; which means that the people of the mainland were conscious of their artistic indebtedness to Crete. I am impelled also to state, at this time, my present view on *ḥkpt* (2 Aqht: V:21, 31; ʿnt: VI:15, Pl. X: III:19), which stands parallel to *kptr* as the abode of Kṭr-w-Ḫss in the Ugaritic texts. The false identification of *ḥkpt* with Egyptian *ḥ.t-k3-ptḥ*, "House of the Soul of Ptah" (= name of Ptah's temple in Memphis), has led to the misapprehension that both Egypt and Crete are the realm of the god Kṭr-w-Ḫss, whom some have consequently sought to identify with Ptah. In any event, Amarna *ḥi-ku-up-ta-aḥ* = Eg. *ḥ.t-k3-ptḥ* = Ugar. *ḥkpt* is now a generally accepted equation (see O. Eissfeldt, *ZMDG*, LXXXIX, 84–100). More careful consideration of the problem, however, now obliges me to withdraw my acceptance thereof. In the first place, *ḥ.t-k3-ptḥ* = *ḥi-ku-up-ta-aḥ* implies that the final laryngeal was pronounced in Canaan during the Amarna age, from which the Ugaritic tablets come.

⁵ *GdA*, II, 1, 502; note the Creto-Mycenean influence on Egyptian representations of battle and hunt.

It is unlikely that Ugaritic orthography should not indicate the laryngeal, because the Ugaritic alphabet is equipped with all the Semitic laryngeals (*h*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, *ʿ*, *ḡ*), and the Ugaritians distinguished them in speech. Therefore, *ḥkpt* ought to be dissociated from *ḥi-ku-up-ta-aḥ* or any Egyptian word that it represents. Furthermore, while Egypt and Crete enjoyed cultural contacts, they were not in any way politically united; nor did they form a single geographical unit. Accordingly, the combination of Egypt and Crete as the abode of the Ugaritic god of arts and crafts is untenable, and *ḥkpt* must be sought in Crete. That the *k* represents a non-Semitic sound is hinted by the variant *ḥqkpt* (ʿnt: VI:13). But to return to Nuzu glyptics.

The author pays much attention to representations of dancing. That dancing occurs in No. 373 (see p. 28) is plausible enough. No. 518, on the other hand, has none of the dancing elements maintained on page 119; it is bloodshed pure and simple, with clearly depicted lethal weapons. Furthermore, No. 526 is not an animal dance (p. 120). Only certain animals are tractable enough to be taught to dance, like the bear; here, however, we are dealing with deer with the head turned back: a pose that can be traced back as far Early Dynastic II (cf. *CS*, Pl. XI, for illustrations). What has misled the author is the calligraphic treatment of the deer in No. 526. On the other hand, if the active pair of figures with arms and legs in motion on No. 756 are, as the author tells us (p. 69), acting to a musical accompaniment, they are most certainly dancing, not boxing as proposed on page 69. Finally, there is nothing in the text of II Sam. 6: 14–16 to indicate that David's dance was a skip dance (p. 88, n. 173). The verbs used are *krkr* and *pzz*. The latter in cognate usage simply means "to be agile" and hardly de-

scribes the type of dance; *krkr*, however, means "to whirl" in related languages (Arabic كَرَكَ; cf. Coptic ⲥⲕⲣⲁⲣ, "to roll"; in Ugaritic it occurs only once where it means "to twirl, twiddle the fingers" in 51:iv:29), which, if anything, indicates that the dance was one of whirling (cf. "waltz" in the light of German *wälzen* "to roll").

While it is not impossible that groups of men are sometimes doing a war dance in Mitannian glyptic art, it would be a mistake to go as far as the conclusions on pages 116–18. The goose-step on No. 390 and the men's touching each other's shoulders with their hands on Nos. 375 ff. are so well attested in military drills that one need not interpret them as dancing. Goose-stepping in the German army is too familiar to require further comment; and in many armies, including the American, soldiers space themselves by touching the next man's shoulder at arm's length. Furthermore, it is unreasonable to assume that the weapons carried in No. 462 were, for the sake of the assumed dance, used as percussion instruments.

The girdles worn by nude heroes (p. 36) are unquestionably wrestling belts. I first called attention to this phenomenon in ancient Mesopotamian art in *Iraq*, VI (1939), 4–5. Dr. Leo Oppenheim has recently applied this fact to the Gilgamesh Epic (*Orientalia*, XVII [1948], 29–30). Inasmuch as belt-wrestling in the ancient Middle East was so widespread, and inasmuch as it has left an unmistakable, though hitherto unrecognized, mark on the idioms of the modern Occident, the following remarks may not be amiss: When Gilgamesh and Enkidu fight, the verb used is *it-te-ig-ga-ru*, "they wrestled,"⁶ from the root *hgr*, which appears in He-

brew as הָגַר, "a belt." Interestingly enough, Hebrew idiom also reflects belt-wrestling, for מָלַל הָגַר הָגַר (II Kings 3:21), "and there were mobilized from all girding a belt and above," means: every man above minimum fighting age was called to the colors. The terminology thus harks back to a pre-Hebrew heroic era when belt-wrestling, rather than the use of weapons, characterized the fighting man. Indeed, our English idiom "gird your lions" in the sense of "get ready for action" is a translation of הָגַר מַחֲנִיךְ (as in II Kings 4:29), variant תֹּאזֵר מַחֲנִיךְ (Jer. 1:17), reflecting the ancient sport of belt-wrestling.

Heroic combat with monsters and beasts was often envisaged and portrayed as belt-wrestling. In fact, it was Enkidu's grasping the wrestling belt of the Bull of Heaven on a seal in the Walters Art Gallery (*Iraq*, Vol. VI [1939], Pl. II, No. 9) that was responsible for our discovery of belt-wrestling. It is therefore not surprising that triumph over animals (e.g., as expressed by the gesture of raising the victim by a hind leg; cf. Porada, p. 30) was depicted in terms of wrestling holds. This is common on seals of the Accad Dynasty (*CS*, Pls. XVI–XVII; cf. Pl. XXII where the inverted victim is realistically in human form).

The author makes the interesting observation (p. 82) that No. 895 is the only Nuzu seal of Mitanni style that shows a seated deity holding a cup. The rarity of this feature (which is so common in Ur III seals) is the more noteworthy because the wine cup held in the hands of gods or men figures so prominently in the roughly contemporary Ugaritic tablets (128:II:16–18; 1 Aqht:216, 217, 218; nt:I:10–11).

The association of the weather god with the bull (p. 92; Nos. 969–70) is possibly to be compared with the Ugaritic storm-god

⁶ For the episode see A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946), p. 32.

Baal/Hadd's mating with the heifer who bears him a bull-calf (67:V:18-22).

On seals Nos. 634 and 636-38 the weapon is quite likely a club that could perhaps be used also as a throw-stick. The shape (with such a long straight shaft and such a small crescent) is hardly that of a "scimitar" (p. 48) in any event.

It is interesting to note in Nos. 434-35 that the nude female holds an ear of grain, indicating her fertility role.

The row of hands in No. 281 represents victory in battle. The association of ideas is explained by the well-attested custom of counting the amputated hands of slain enemies; e.g., in Egypt (*GdA*, II, 1, 558) and in Ugarit (C^{nt}:II:9-10⁷ in the light of *Orientalia*, XII [1943], 52, n. 1). The Ugaritic evidence is especially interesting in connection with contemporary Syrian seals mentioned by the author on page 24, note 28.

The small figures (p. 58) under the harps on No. 711 are the attendants carrying the instruments played on the march (cf. *CS*, Pl. XVa, of Early Dynastic III).

The idea of protecting a tree is treated on page 113 in a way that leaves something to be desired. The argument given amounts to: the unproved statement that a tree is protected plus the notion that the king, in the course of his rituals, went hunting obliges us to conclude that he must have protected a tree from some creature during the hunt. Furthermore, we read that "it seems possible that, like most other Assyrian ritual and mythological conceptions, the idea of protection of the 'tree' goes back to the time of the Mitanni empire" (p. 113). The truth is that myths found in Assurbanipal's library can be traced back to much earlier Babylonian and Sumerian forerunners. Besides, the great mirror of the mythol-

ogy is the corpus of seals from the Accad age back in the third millennium (*CS*, Pls. XVI-XXIV); but the existence of some of the myths is clearly reflected in Early Dynastic times (*CS*, Pls. X-XIII), when they were already old. Moreover, if one must find the theme of heroes protecting a tree from beasts, he could not do better than to seek it in the Accad seal reproduced in *CS*, Plate XVIIh.

The view (p. 125) that Mitannian seals influenced Cretan, Mycenaean, and Cypriote gem-cutters requires demonstration, particularly since it is so likely that we must look to the Mediterranean for the source of so much of the distinctiveness of Mitannian glyptics. The author's view would have to be supported by innovations, in the island art, that were not previously attested in the island products that occur on earlier Mitannian seals. Even at that, we should have to distinguish Mitanni seals from the related contemporary glyptics of Syria and Asia Minor.⁸

It is difficult to regard vertical composition as a legacy of Mitanni art (p. 123) without any reference to the fact that verticality even for quadrupeds is attested since Uruk times (e.g., *CS*, Pl. IVe) and becomes the norm in Early Dynastic II (*CS*, Pls. X-XI).

The view that Nuzu glyptics of the Common Style comes principally from the Syro-Cappadocian sphere is misleading (p. 106). The fact is that the engraved cylinder seal emanated from Sumer and evolved in the hands of the Assyro-Babylonian heirs of Sumerian civilization. In Syria and Cappadocia the borrowed Mesopotamian seal cylinder underwent changes, some of which rebounded on

⁷ Cut-off heads, on seals as well as in this Ugaritic passage, have the same significance.

⁸ It is a pleasure to note that while this article was in proof, Dr. Porada convincingly supplied the desiderata indicated in this paragraph; see *AJA*, LII (1948), 178-198.

Mesopotamian glyptics, such as the Nuzu seals.

If I were to enumerate in detail the merits of Dr. Porada's work, I should have to write a book instead of a review article. I have stressed differences more than agreements because there is more to be gained by improving the worse than by praising the better. I cannot conclude my remarks, however, without stating clearly

that Dr. Porada's book ushers in a new era in the study of Middle East glyptics—the era in which scholars will have to devote as much attention to ancient impressions as to actual seals. In the course of making this contribution, Dr. Porada has elevated Mitannian glyptics from a minor to a major chapter of art in the ancient Middle East.

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE



Azitawadd's Phoenician Inscription

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AZITAWADD'S PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION

CYRUS H. GORDON

IT IS no longer news that Karatepe in Cilicia has yielded royal inscriptions of Azitawadd in Phoenician and Hittite hieroglyphic versions. The most important consequence of this discovery will be the decipherment of Hittite hieroglyphs. So far only the first ten lines of the hieroglyphic version have been correlated with the Phoenician and published.¹ Semitists still have considerable work to do, for it is they who must establish the interpretation of the Phoenician texts which constitute the key to the Hittite hieroglyphs. As virtual bilinguals, Azitawadd's inscriptions may well turn out to be eclipsed in importance only by the Behistun Inscription and the Rosetta Stone.

Doctors H. T. Bossert and U. Bahadır Alkım published the first copy of Azitawadd's Phoenician text in their second preliminary report on Karatepe (*Istanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları*, No. 340, [Istanbul, 1947]). Semitists were quick to interpret and publish the Phoenician inscription.² Subsequently, two more recensions of the

Phoenician version were discovered. Professor Bossert has kindly sent me the better of the two, complete except for three letters near the end of III:1 and one letter at the end of III:2. It is this recension which is given below. It not only corrects false readings, and fills gaps in the hitherto published recension, but adds much new material.

Azitawadd lived in the ninth century B.C. before the Syrian and Cilician campaigns of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.), whose Assyrian armies ended an era when the small states of Syria and adjacent areas had to deal only with each other and not with great aggressive empires. Azitawadd, whose terrain was the Plain of Adana, boasts that he and his Danunite people widened his boundaries to the east and west. His victims to the east must have included the near-by city-state of Sam'âl (now Zincirli), which did not throw off the yoke until the time of King KLMW of Sam'âl, who tells us in his inscription³ that he attained his success by paying the king of Assyria (=Shalmaneser III) to crush the Danunite Kingdom (i.e., the Plain of Adana).

It is interesting to note that in the ninth century Phoenician was the Semitic language used literarily in and around Cilicia;

¹ H. T. Bossert, "Die phönizisch-hethitischen Bilinguen vom Karatepe," *Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi)*, XII, No. 47 (1948), 515-31 and Pls. CXI-CXII.

² The following bibliography contains the items that came to my attention by the time the manuscript of this article was completed (January 12, 1949): J. Friedrich, "Eine altphönizische Inschrift aus Kilikien," *F.u.F.* (=Forschung und Fortschritte), XXIV (1948), 77-79; J. Garstang, "Light on Homer: Discovery of a Lost City at Karatepe," *London Times*, April 24, 1948, p. 5, cols. 6-7; C. H. Gordon, "Phoenician Inscriptions from Karatepe," *JQR* (=Jewish Quarterly Review), XXXIX (1948), 41-50; A. Alt, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der neuen phönizischen Inschriften aus Kilikien," *F.u.F.* XXIV (1948), 121-24; R. D. Barnett, I. Leveen, and C. Moss, "A Phoenician Inscription from Eastern Cilicia," *Iraq* X (1948), 56-71; A. M. Honeyman, "Phoenician Inscriptions from Karatepe," *Le Muséon*, LXI (1948), 43-57; R. Marcus and I. J. Gelb, "A Preliminary Study of the New Phoenician Inscription from

Cilicia," *JNES*, VII (1948), 194-98; J. Obermann, *Discoveries at Karatepe* (=No. 26 of the "Offprint Series" of the American Oriental Society [New Haven, 1948]).

³ M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III (Giessen, 1915), p. 221; note ll. 7-8. See p. 225 for Von Luschan's identification of KLMW's father ḥy' (KLMW l. 3; cf. l. 1) with Ḥayān of Sam'âl, who is mentioned by Shalmaneser III in the account of the latter's first year's exploits (D. Luckenbill, *Historical Records of Assyria*, I, 215, § 600).

in the following century Aramaic displaced Phoenician as the texts of PNMW⁴ and Bar-RKB⁵ of Samʿâl and zkr⁶ of Hamath show.

Accordingly, in the light of the two

foregoing paragraphs, historic as well as linguistic considerations require a ninth-century date for Azitawadd, whose texts must precede Shalmaneser's first invasion of the area in 834-833 B.C.⁷

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

In the following transliteration and translation of the new Azitawadd text, doubtful readings and renderings are italicized. Scribal omissions are in < >; scribal plusses are in { }; words added in translation are in (); restorations are in []. Variants in the previously published recension are designated by the letter A in the commentary.

COLUMN I

- 1 ʾNK ʾZTWÐ HBRK BʿL ʿBD
I am Azitawadd, the blessed of Baal, the servant
- 2 BʿL ʾŠ ʾDR ʾWRK MLK DNNYM
of Baal, whom Awrikk, king of the Danunites, exalted.
- 3 PʿLN BʿL LDNNYM LʾB WLʾM YHʾW ʾNK ʾYT
Baal made me as a father and mother to the Danunites. I quickened
- 4 DNNYM YRHB ʾNK ʾRŠ ʿMQ ʾDN LMMŠ ʾŠ
the Danunites, enlarged the land of the Plain of Adana from the rising
- 5 MŠ WʿD MBʾY WKN BYMTY KL NʿM LDNNY
of the sun to its setting, and in my days the Danunites had every
- 6 M WŠBʿ WMNʿM WMLʾ ʾNK ʿQRT PʿR WPʿ
good and plenty and goodness. And I filled the *arsenals of Paġr*, and I
- 7 L ʾNK SS ʿL SS WMGN ʿL MGN WMHNT ʿL
made (=multiplied) horse upon horse and shield upon shield and camp upon
- 8 MHNT BʿBR BʿL WʾLM WŠBRT MLŠM
camp by the grace of Baal and the gods and the *council of dignitaries*,
- 9 WTRQ ʾNK KL HRʿ ʾŠ KN BʾRŠ WYTŋ ʾNK
and I *wiped out* all the evil that was in the land, and I erected
- 10 BT ʾDNY BNʿM WPʿL ʾNK LŠRŠ ʾDNY NʿM
the house of my lordship in good, and I did good for the root of my lordship,

⁴ G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 159-61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-73, 180-81. Quite possibly the name is to be read Bar-Rākib "Son of (the) Rider," the "Rider" being the "Rider of Clouds," the storm-god epithet of Baal in Ugarit (text 1 Aqht: 43-44) and of Yahweh among the Hebrews (Ps. 68:5). The name would thus be of the "Bar-Hadad" type, with the god's epithet substituting his name.

⁶ Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III, 3-4.

⁷ I cannot accept the later dates that have been proposed, because they disregard the historic and linguistic relations with KLMW's text and overlook the fact that Bar-RKB, a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) refers to KLMW as a remote predecessor (Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 181, ll. 17-18).

Arguments based on script can be deceptive. For purposes of dating, the forms of the letters, though important, are insufficient because some (e.g., z, p, q) go with texts older than, and others (k, m, ʿ) with those later than, the ninth century. The reason for

this is that chronology is not the only factor; locality and the preferences of schools and individual scribes also come into the picture. The danger of dating by forms of the letters will be obvious upon comparing the handwritings of any two people, or the print of almost any two presses, or the typing of any two brands of typewriter, not only in the same year of 1949 but even in the same city.

It might also be worth anticipating an objection to our linguistic argument: The fact that mountain ranges separate Zincirli from Karatepe might give rise to the view that the two areas were not in contact with each other and that therefore Karatepe might not have undergone the wave of epigraphic Aramaization more or less simultaneously with Zincirli. However, when Azitawadd tells us that he expanded eastward and westward (I:4-5), he can hardly have missed contact with Zincirli which is only about twenty-five miles southeast of Karatepe; especially in the light of KLMW's statement (I. 7) that he shook off the yoke of the "King of the Danunites" (MLK D[N]NYM).

- 11 WYŠB ʔNK ʿL KSʔ ʔBY WŠT ʔNK ŠLM ʔT
and I sat on the throne of my father, and I made peace with
- 12 KL MLK WʔP BʔBT PʿLN KL MLK BŠDQY W
every king, and even in war every king reckoned me in my righteousness and
- 13 BHKMTY WBNʿM LBY WBN ʔNK HMYT ʿ
in my wisdom and in the goodness of my heart, and I built mighty
- 14 ZT BKL QŠYT ʿL GBLM BMQMM BʔŠ KN
walls in all the outposts on the borders, in the places where there had been
- 15 ʔŠM RʿM BʿL ʔGDDM ʔŠ BL ʔŠ ʿBD
bad men with gangs, none of whom had been subservient
- 16 KN LBT MʔŠ WʔNK ʔZTWD ŠTNM THT PʿM
to the House of Mopš, but I, Azitawadd, put them at my feet,
- 17 Y WBN ʔNK HNYT BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM DNN
and I built settlements in those places so that the Danunites might
- 18 YM BNHT LBNM WʿN ʔNK ʔRŠT ʿZT BMBʔ
dwell in the ease of their hearts. And I subjugated mighty lands in the
- 19 ŠMŠ ʔŠ BL ʿN KL HMLKM ʔŠ KN LPNY Wʔ
west which all the kings before me had not subjugated, but
- 20 NK ʔZTWD ʿNTNM YRDM ʔNK YŠBM ʔNK
I, Azitawadd, subjugated them, bringing (them) down (and) settling (them)
- 21 BQŠT GBLY BMŠʔ ŠMŠ WDNMYM
in the extremity of my borders in the east, and Danunites

COLUMN II

- 1 YŠBT ŠM WKN BYMTY BKL
I settled there. And there were in my days, in all
- 2 GBL ʿMQ ʔDN LMMŠʔ ŠMŠ
the borders of the Plain of Adana, from the rising of the sun
- 3 WʿD MBʔY WBMQMM ʔŠ KN
to its setting—and in the places which had
- 4 LPNM NŠTʿM ʔŠ YŠTʿ DM LLKT
formerly been feared, where a person would fear to walk
- 5 DRK WBYMTY ʔNK ʔŠT TKL HD
the road, but in my days a woman could stroll
- 6 YD LP LKM BʿBR BʿL WʔLM
without scandal by the grace of Baal and the gods—
- 7 WKN BKL YMTY ŠBʿ WMNʿM WŠBT
yea, there were in all my days plenty and goodness and good
- 8 NʿMT WNHT LB LDNNYM WLKL ʿM
living and ease of heart for the Danunites and all the Plain
- 9 Q ʔDN WBN ʔNK HQRT Z WŠT
of Adana, and I built this city and made
- 10 ʔNK ŠM ʔZTWDY K BʿL WRŠP
the name Azitawaddiyy because Baal and Reshef
- 11 ŠPRM ŠLHN LBNT WBNY ʔNK B
of the *Bucks* sent me to build and I built it by
- 12 ʿBR BʿL WBʿBR RŠP ŠPRM! B
the grace of Baal and Reshef of the *Bucks* in
- 13 ŠBʿ WBMNʿM WBŠBT NʿMT WBNHT
plenty and goodness and in good living and in ease

- 14 LB LKNY MŠMR L^cMQ ^oDN WLB
of heart so that there might be protection for the Plain of Adana and for the
- 15 T MPŠ K BYMTY KN L^rRŠ ^cMQ ^o
House of Mopš, for in my days there were unto the land of the Plain
- 16 DN ŠB^c WMN^cM WBL KN MTM < LL BYMTY > LDNNY
of Adana plenty and goodness, and there was no adversary unto the Danunites.
- 17 M {LL BYMTY} WBN ^oNK HQRT Z < W > ŠT
And I built this city and made
- 18 ^oNK ŠM ^oZTWDY YŠB ^oNK BN
the name Azitawaddiyy. I dwell *with*
- 19 B^cL KRNTYŠ WYLK ZBḤ LKL
Baal KRNTYŠ and *there has gone* (i.e., *been made*) *the sacrifice for the entire*

COLUMN III

- 1 HMSKT ZBḤ YMM ^oLP WB[^cT Ḥ]RŠ
ritual, the Sacrifice of the Thousand Days, both in the season of plowing (=sowing)
- 2 Š WB^cT QSR Š WBRK B^cL KR[N]
barley and in the season of harvesting the barley. And Baal KRNTYŠ blessed
- 3 TRYŠ ^oYT ^oZTWD ḤYM WŠLM
Azitawadd (with) life and peace
- 4 W^cZ ^oDR ^cL KL MLK LTTY B^cL KRNTYŠ
and great strength above any other king so that Baal KRNTYŠ
- 5 WKL ^oLN QRT L^oZTWD ^oRK YMM WRB
and all the deities of the city might give to Azitawadd length of days and multitude
- 6 ŠNT WRŠ^oT N^cMT W^cZ ^oDR ^cL KL ML
of years and good *authority* and great strength above any other king,
- 7 K WKN HQRT Z B^cL T ŠB^c WTRŠ W^cM
and this city was one of plenty (of food) and wine, and this.
- 8 Z Š YŠB BNY KN B^cL ^oLPM WB^c
people which dwells *in* it constituted owners of large and
- 9 L Š^oN WB^cL ŠB^c WTRŠ WBRBM Y L^c?
small cattle and owners of plenty (of food) and wine, and *rendering taxes*
- 10 WBRBM Y^oDR WBRBM Y^cBD L^oZ
and *rendering* adulation and *rendering* service to Azitawadd
- 11 TWD WLBT MPŠ B^cBR B^cL W^oLM
and to the House of Mopš by the grace of Baal and the gods.
- 12 W^oM MLK BMLKM WRZN BRZNM ^oM ^o
And if any king among kings, or prince among princes, or
- 13 DM ^oŠ ^oDM ŠM ^oŠ YMH ŠM ^oZTW
person of renown, who obliterates the name of Azitawadd
- 14 D BŠ^cR Z WŠT ŠM ^oM ^oP YḤMD ^oY
in this gate and puts (on his own) name, or even covets
- 15 T HQRT Z WYS^c HŠ^cR Z Š P^cL ^o
this city and removes this gate which Azitawadd
- 16 ZTWD WYP^cL LŠ^cR ZR WŠT ŠM ^cLY
made and reuses (it) for a strange gate and puts a name upon it,
- 17 ^oM BḤMDT YS^c ^oM BŠN^oT WBR^c YS^c
whether he removes from covetousness, or from hate and evil he removes
- 18 HŠ^cR Z WMḤ B^cL ŠMM W^cL QN ^oRŠ
this gate; then may Baal of the Heavens and El Creator (/Owner) of the Earth

EDGE WŠMŠ^cLM WKL DR BN^cLM^cYT HMMLKT H^c W^cYT HMLK H^c W^cYT

and the Eternal Sun and all the Generation of the Gods obliterate that prince and that king and

LION^c DM H^c Š^c DM ŠM^c PS ŠM^c ZTWD YKN L^cLM KM ŠM ŠMŠ WYRH^c

that man of renown; but may the name of Azitawadd endure forever like the name of the sun and the moon!

COMMENTARY

I:1 ZTWD HBRK B^cL: The article with attributive adjective before a genitive, running as it does against the general Semitic trend, is not an innovation but a survival. Nor must we rely solely on theoretical linguistic methods. That this very construction goes back to the parent-language of Phoenician and Arabic is shown by the idiom *الرَّجُلُ الْحَسَنُ الْوَجْهَ*, "the man the handsome of face = the man whose face is handsome." However, there are also abundant Hebrew illustrations of the article attached to nouns followed by a genitive noun or by a pronominal suffix; e.g., *h^cl byt^c-l* (Gen. 31:13), *hmz^ch byt^c-l* and *hqbr^c yš^c-h^clym* (II Kings 23:17), *hmlk^c š^cwr* (Isa. 36:16), *hnh^clym r^cnwn* (Num. 21:14), *hlškw^ct hqdš* (Ezek. 46:19), *hyum husdh* (Exod. 9:18), *hl^cg hš^cnny^cm* (Ps. 123:4), *h^crk^ck* (Lev. 27:23), *h^chly* (Josh. 7:21), *hš^cy^cw* (Josh. 8:33), *hhrwty^ch* (II Kings 15:16).⁸ Getting rid of the article by emendation merely shows ignorance of the linguistic facts. By the same token the article in *כְּנַבְרָתָהּ* (Isa. 24:2), *לְמַעַנְדָּו* (Prov. 16:4) and *בְּעִרְיָו* (Ezra 10:14) cannot be brushed aside as having "only late massoretic support." Anomalous forms are the key to the antiquity of a language; not clay ducks to be shot off the scene by ingenious textual critics who too often forget the principle of *lectio difficilior preferenda est*. The Massora is not the pronunciation of Hebrew as spoken in the ninth century B.C. any

more than our pronunciation of English is that of Chaucer; but massoretic pronunciation is a genuine reflex of the ancient speech just as our English is a genuine reflex of older stages of English. Any scientific reconstruction of ancient Hebrew pronunciation must work back from the Massora, just as any reconstruction of Egyptian pronunciation must work back from Coptic.⁹ Comparative linguistics, old orthographies, and ancient transliterations are fragmentary though invaluable aids; but they are not the primary foundation on which the reconstruction can be based.

2 WRK: The name (but not the same person) is attested about a century later in Cilicia in Assyrian annals; cf. "Urikki," Luckenbill, *Historical Records of Assyria*, Volume II, page 490.

DNNYM: Since no medial vowels are indicated orthographically in this text, the *y* reflects the gentilic ending *-iyy*.

3 With Azitawadd's role of "father and mother," cf. KLMW's (ll. 10–11) of father, mother, and brother.

3, 4 etc.: YHW and YRH^cB are adverbial infinitives (of the causative YP^cL conjugation) used historically. The subject pronoun that follows is matched in KLMW's text (ll. 7–8) WŠKR^c NK, "and I hired," a little after Azitawadd's time and a little southeast of Azitawadd's realm. Cf. also WP^cL^c NK, "and I made" (YH^cWMLK of Byblos, ll. 3, 6; Lidzbarski, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* [Giessen, 1907], p. 13). That we are dealing with the ad-

⁸ The fact that some of these illustrations may be explained on other grounds does not invalidate the phenomenon.

⁹ I have purposely simplified the above statement for the sake of clarity. There are, of course, more than one Massora and more than one dialect of Coptic.

verbal infinitive (and not with a participle or with a misuse of 3 for 1 person) is shown by **וְשִׁבַּח אֲנִי** (Eccles. 4:2), "and I praised."

6 "And I filled the *arsenals* of Paḡr": if the interpretation is right **ṔR** = (*ina*) *alpa-ah-ri* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* I, 30:III:7) might well reflect ḡ (ג) in the name of this city. I have considered taking **ḠRT** to mean Heb. *ḡrwṭ*, "barren women" (i.e., the rule was so auspicious that hitherto-childless women now bore children), but it is better (with Professor Bossert) to connect this passage with the armament program that follows.

8 **šBRT MLŠM** is problematic. I refrain from taking the first word as a verb "I broke" because that would interrupt a long chain of adverbial infinitives followed by **ṢNK** to express past time. The point of departure for my conjectural interpretation is **MLŠM**; **MLŠ** occurs in the honorific title **MLŠ HKRSYM** in Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus (G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 60, 73, translates "interpreter of the thrones"; Lidzbarski, *Kan. Inschriften*, pp. 27, 31, is uncertain as to the meaning; I share Lidzbarski's doubts).

9 **TRQ**: Adverbial infinitive; the meaning is fixed by the context with but little margin for error.

YṬN: Adverbial infinitive of **YṔL** conjugation.

10 **ḌNY** corresponds to Heb. **אֲדֹנָי**, whose literal meaning is "my lords." I take masculine plural **ḏwnym* to signify "lordship," like *zqwnym*, "old age," *nʿwrym*, "(the period of) youth," etc. How **אֲדֹנָי** "My Lordship" as a title came to designate God in Hebrew requires no explanation. **ḌNY** might conceivably refer to divinity here, but I prefer to relate

it to the king, thus connecting with the following line.

11 **wšT ṢNK**: **šT** "I set/made" taken out of context could equal Heb. **שָׂתִי**. However, the following **ṢNK** and the long list of parallel constructions, above and below, show that it corresponds to Heb. **שָׁלוֹחַ**. Only when the final consonant of the root is **ṭ** does there appear the illusory possibility of a perfect followed by **ṢNK**.

ṢT means "with" and is not the proclitic with definite accusatives in Phoenician (cf. Heb. **עִי** which has both functions; though the two uses are morphologically distinct when pronominal suffixes are added: **עִי** "with me" but **עִי** accus. "me"); the proclitic before definite accusatives in Phoenician is **ṢṬ** (I:3; III:3, 14-15; edge).

12 **ṢBT**: the root is **ṣyb** as in Heb. **צִיב** "enemy." "War" is the meaning in contrast to "peace" (l. 11); "enmity, hatred" is **šnṭ** (Heb. *šnḥ*) in this text (III:17).

15 **ṢM**: etymologically "correct" pl. of what occurs in Heb. as **ṣyš** "man." In Heb. there are four different roots, some or all of which are often lumped together by students: (1) **ṣyš** "man," (2) **ṣnwš** "man," **ṣšym** "men," (= **أَنَاس** "people," **إِنْسَان** "man" [as distinct from *jinn*]; cf. also Aram. **ṣš** "man"), (3) **ṣš** "woman" (cf. **أُنْثَى** "female"; Aram. **ṣ[n]t** "woman"), (4) **ṣšym** "women" (**نِسَاء**, **نِسَوَان** "women"; Aram. **ṣšy** "women").

16 "The House of Mopš" is the name of Azitawadd's dynasty.

šTNM: perfect (**שָׁתַּנְמוּ**) plus acc. **-NM** "them"; the same form of another verb occurs in I:20 (**ṣTNM**).

17 **ḤNYT**, "settlements," shows that **ḤMYT** in A has been miscopied.

šBTNM ḌNYM: note the Egypto-Semitic tolerance of a morpheme between a noun and its following genitive. This particular

example is what we might call the **ביתו** **בניהם** construction; "their dwelling of the Danunites = the dwelling of the Danunites"; cf. probably KNY MŠMR (II:14) "his being of protection = the being of protection" and certainly TRY B^cL (III:4) "his giving of Baal = Baal's giving." This phenomenon is attested, though generally misunderstood, in Heb. *bb-w h-yš* (Ezek. 10:3), *m-cwzy hyl* (II Sam. 22:33), *mdrkk zmh* (Ezek. 16:27), *hbllw hwb* (Ezek. 18:7), *npšw c-sl* (Prov. 13:4), *w-hryth šmh* (Prov. 14:13), *ktbm hmtyhšym* (Ezra 2:62).¹⁰ I have already pointed out that its presence in Egyptian is not an inner Egyptian development but a primitive Egypto-Semitic feature.¹¹ Egypto-Semitic tolerance of an element interposed between a word and a following genitive survives in passages like *bqwm-lmšpt l-hym* (Ps. 76:10) and *brn-yhd kwkby bqr* (Job 38:7). Thus, while the trend is away from such interpositions, there are enough survivals to show that the parent-stock tolerated them. That the genitive must follow the construct remains a feature of Egypto-Semitic; but the sequence can be interrupted.

20 YRDM and YŠBM are causative adv. inf. The -M is probably not the suffix "them" (which in this text is -NM) but rather the Phoenician reflex of Accadian -umma attached to the adv. inf. which occurs also in Ugaritic (see my *Ugaritic Handbook* § 9. 23 for Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, Nuzu, and Ugaritic examples).

II:4-5 For the parallelism of ^{dm} and ^{šh}, see also Eccles. 7:28.

5-6 ŠT TKL HD YD LP LKM: The passage means that Azitawadd had made

¹⁰ Again, the phenomenon is established even though some of the examples may be explained differently.

¹¹ *Ugaritic Handbook*, § 8. 11; note Eg. illustrations such as *wt.f hš.t*, "his game of the desert"; or with adj. interposed (cf. note on I:1) *tph.t wr.t iwnw*, "the great holes of Heliopolis."

even the erstwhile bandit-infested areas safe for everybody. A more specific meaning is suggested by a claim of Ramses III that he so established public security that a woman could go anywhere she wanted without being molested (Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 26). ŠT, "woman," parallels ^{dm}, "man, person"; f. TKL = Heb. **תכל** parallels the tense of m. YŠT^c; HD is a construct inf. parallel to LLKT with the preposition omitted as often after *ykl* in Heb. (see Gen. 24:50; 37:4; Exod. 18:23; Job 4:2) and is perhaps to be normalized *hid* in the light of **חַדָּא** ("to stray." My solution for the next seven letters is drastic, but, since all the interpretations offered so far are wrong, a new one is called for if only for the purpose of evoking further thought on the subject. *yd lph* "hand to the mouth!" is a Hebrew idiom for "be silent!" Possibly, then, YD LP LKM, "hand to mouth for you!" is an adverbial idiom meaning "with everybody keeping quiet." My first impression was that the whole phrase meant "a woman could stroll without any man making offensive advances to her"; but my wife suggests another interpretation which has much in its favor: the talk is not that of male accosters but of gossips, including women gossips who universally do their best to make other women's lives miserable. Thus the phrase could be rendered freely: "a woman could travel without running the risk of gossip," which makes Azitawadd's boast the more pointed.

6 B^cBR B^cL W^cLM: text A repeats the preposition, thus reading B^cBR B^cL WB^cBR ^{LM} both here and in III:11 below.

9-10 ŠT ^{NK} is omitted haplographically in A, for the scribe skipped from the š of ŠT to that of ŠM.

10 ^{ZTW} DY: the name of the city built by Azitawadd, where these texts were found.

10-11 RŠP ŠPRM: Much can be said for interpreting the latter word as "birds" (Heb. *צִפִּירִים*) or as "bucks" (Heb. *צִפְרִים*). I prefer the latter in the light of an actual representation of Reshef wearing a helmet adorned with the head of a caprid (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altert.*, 2d ed., II, 134).

16-17 LL BYMTY should be shifted from 17 to 16 to agree with A. Our scribe here omitted these seven letters in 16 and supplied them out of place in the next line. On MTMLL, see *JQR*, XXXIX (1948), 47, n. 18.

17 ŠT: A reads WŠT.

18 BN: A reads H³LM z instead. BN seems to be a preposition that can indicate where or with whom one dwells; cf. III:8.

III:1 HMSKT: A reads HMYKT, according to the copy. My italicized translation of the passage is admittedly unsatisfying but I can think of nothing better at present.

2 Š: cf. Accadian *šēu*, "barley."¹²

3-4 H³YM WŠLM W³Z: A reads B³HYM WBŠLM WB³Z.

5 WKL ³LN QRT: omitted in A.

6 RŠ³T: Honeyman's suggestion (*Le Muséon*, LXI [1948], 50) that the root is that of Aram. *rš*, "to be permitted, entitled" (whence RŠ³T would here mean

¹² If the short verticle stroke after both š's, on the autograph, is intentional, we may have an abbreviation for š³RM (=Heb. *š³wrym*), "barley."

"authority, dominion"), has much in its favor, including a plausible meaning as well as etymology.

7 ŠB^c means "plenty of food" as the complementary TRŠ (=Heb. *tyrwš*, "wine") indicates.

8-9 Cf. KLMW's claim (ll. 11-12) that he so improved the lot of his people that they became owners of large and small cattle, of gold and silver, and of fine clothing.

9-10 BRBMY: translation conjectural.

11 W³LM: A reads WB^cBR ³LM.

edge MMLKT: corresponds to RZN above. In Phoenician, MMLKT refers to the person who rules, not to the impersonal realm like Heb. *mmlkh* "kingdom, government."

lion ³PS: strong adversative "but."

For invocations to the sun and moon, cf. ZKR line b:24 and Nêrab (Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 186, l. 9).

The time is ripe for a comparative study of the literature from Canaan. The Old Testament, the Ugaritic tablets, and the Northwest Semitic inscriptions illuminate one another. For example, B^cL ŠMD (KLMW:15) "Baal of the Club," is now intelligible against the background of the Ugaritic tablet No. 68 (*Ugaritic Handbook* II), which celebrates Baal's vanquishing Yamm by use of a šMD, "club."

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BELT-WRESTLING IN THE BIBLE WORLD

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VARIETIES of belt-wrestling are attested in the art and literature of the ancient Near East. A clear representation is provided by the Khafâje wrestlers¹ from Mesopotamia of the third millennium. The statuette shows each contestant grasping his opponent's belt. Plate II shows a nude third-millennium, Mesopotamian hero who, although not engaged in combat, nevertheless wears a wrestling-belt, as befits a hero. Even when fighting men bear arms or wear a helmet, in accordance with the ever-growing technological demands of warfare, the wrestling-belt may persist as the time-honored symbol of heroism; as an illustration we select an early Greek statuette,² showing that belt-wrestling extended beyond what is known as the Bible World in antiquity. The most detailed representations of wrestling-holds are from Egypt; and from Beni Hasan come numerous painted sketches of wrestlers, wearing nothing but a belt.³ One of the figures,⁴ showing a contestant holding aloft a belt, suggests that an aim of the sport was (at least in a particular type of Middle Egyptian belt-wrestling) to strip off the opponent's belt.⁵ This is not the place to go into an analysis of ancient belt-wrestling. We must content ourselves here with the conclusion that Israel and Judah lived in a world where belt-wrestling had long enjoyed international popularity. It is

¹ Plate I.

² Plate III.

³ Plate IV.

⁴ Plate V, third row (from top), near center.

⁵ Cf. *Enûma Eliš* I: 72, where Ea vanquishes Apsu, by stripping him of belt and crown: *ip-tur rik-si-šu iš-ta-ḥaṭ a-ga-šu*.

therefore only natural that the sport is reflected in Scripture.

In 2 Sam. 2 there is the account of bloodily rough sport ⁶ between Abner's and Joab's troops. The first phase of the contest (verses 15-16) has been so ably explained by Brigadier Y. Sukenik ⁷ that we can accept his analysis of the mode of combat without modification, and proceed to the sequel: When Joab's men were pursuing Abner's, Joab's brother Asahel had the temerity to run after Abner himself (verses 17-19). Not wanting to start a blood-feud with Joab, Abner shouted to Asahel to desist and instead pursue some other warrior ⁸ whom he could seize and strip of his חֲלִיצָה «wrestling-belt», the most prized of heroic trophies. That the חֲלִיצָה is the belt worn on the waist is indicated by Accadian *hulṣu* «belt» ⁹ and Hebrew חֲלָצִים «waist», on which the wrestling-belt was worn. Asahel sealed his own fate, and ultimately Abner's, ¹⁰ by refusing to desist, thus obliging Abner to slay him with a spear (verse 23).

So characteristic of fighting men was the חֲלִיצָה, «wrestling-belt,» that soldiers equipped for war came to be called חֲלָצֵי הַצֶּבֶא (Josh. 4:13; etc.) or simply חֲלָצִים (Num. 32:30; etc.). It is accordingly interesting to note that the חֲלָצִים «pioneers» of modern Israel are designated by the term that originally meant, in ancient Israel, «heroes equipped with the wrestling-belt». Not less interesting is the fact that «gird your loins» (in the

⁶ The «murderous» aspect of Homeric sport is not to be explained away as simply as proposed by E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, p. 25. For the early Hebrews and Greeks, sport and bloodshed were not mutually exclusive.

⁷ Y. Sukenik, «Let the Young Men, I Pray Thee, Arise and Play before Us», *Journal of Palestine Oriental Society* 21, 1948, pp. 110-116.

⁸ נָעַר, in the technical sense of «warrior» appears not only as a Canaanite loanword in Egyptian, but is found also in the Ugaritic tablets, where *n^crm* designates a certain class of warriors (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome, 1949, p. 124).

⁹ See Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 323a.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. 3:27.

sense of « get ready for action »)¹¹ has become an English idiom via Bible translation, so that Hebrew belt-wrestling has left its mark on the speech of the modern West.

For one reason or another,¹² classical scholars have failed to perceive the echoes of belt-wrestling in the Homeric epics, just as orientalist have failed to recognize the numerous references to it, not only in cuneiform literature, but even in Scripture.¹³ Putting on a belt for wrestling is clearly stated in the Iliad 23:710 (ξωσαμένω). As in Hebrew, the expression also became a generalized idiom for « to get ready for action »; ξώννυσται τέ νέοι καὶ ἐπεντύνονται ἄεθλα (Od. 24:89) « the young men gird themselves and make ready to win the prizes ». Cf. also ξῶσαι νῦν (Od. 18:30) « gird thyself now (for fighting) ».

Hebrew has several words for « (wrestling) belt »; e.g., חליצה, חגור, and חגורה. The latter is referred to as suitable for a prize in 2 Sam. 18:11 עשרה כסף וחגרה אחת « ten (shekels) of silver and one belt ». It is interesting to observe that the hero's belt is singled out, in the Gilgamesh Epic, as the most precious keepsake a man could give a woman.¹⁴

¹¹ E.g., חגר מחניך (2 Kg. 4:29), var : חגור מחניך (Jer. 1:17).

¹² The chief reason is that belt-wrestling is today practiced, for the most part, in areas (like Japan and Iceland) away from the main centers of philological research. However, it is remarkable that a form of belt-wrestling called *Schwingen* is known in Switzerland, where biblical, classical and oriental studies are fostered with so much distinction.

¹³ I first observed the phenomenon on Mesopotamian seal cylinders (*Iraq* 6, 1939, pp. 4-5). It was not until 1948, however, that I realized (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7, p. 264) that ויצעקו מכל חגר חגרה ומעלה (2 Kg. 3:21) « and there were mobilized from all girding a belt and above » (i.e., every man above minimum fighting age was called to the colors) presupposes belt-wrestling. In the course of time, to be sure, חגר came to apply to the putting on of swords and other equipment of war; just as חליצה may possibly have developed into « a soldier's battle-gear ». But the original meaning of « wrestling-belt » is unmistakable.

¹⁴ See my explanation (*Ugaritic Literature*, p. 134) of *mi-sir-ra-šū lip-tur-ki* (*Gilg. Epic* VII: iv: 5) « may he loosen his belt for thee ».

It is not my intention to exhaust the exegetical implications of our recognition of belt-wrestling among the Hebrews. But, as an illustration of how it clarifies even passages where there is no question of combat, we turn to Is. 11:5 where the Perfect King of the Golden Age is described thus: *והיה צדק אזור מתניו: והאמונה אזור חלציו* «and righteousness shall be the belt of his waist; even faithfulness, the belt of his loins». As the context demands, the verse means that the Messianic King will be characterized by virtue («righteousness» and «faithfulness»), instead of violence or physical power (symbolized by the wrestling-belt) that typify the actual rulers of Isaiah's age or ours.

One application of belt-wrestling has a special bearing on our investigation: belt-wrestling as an ordeal in court. There is a Nuzu tablet recording a law-suit, wherein G. accuses his brother, M., of committing assault and battery, and inflicting injury, on his (G.'s) wife. Since M. denies the charge, the judges prescribe belt-wrestling in conjunction with the divinely sanctioned court ordeal. In the course of grappling (*ṣabātu*) with belts (sg. *qannu*), G. wins the case. Two Hurrian loan-words,¹⁵ and what seems to be a scribe's or copyist's error,¹⁶ plus a much-too-much abbreviated description of the ordeal,¹⁷ do not make for the clarity we might wish; but enough of the sense is clear for present purposes:

obv.) *gur-pa-za-aḥ mār ḥi-il-bi-iš-šu-uḥ*

Gurpazah, the son of Ḥilbišuh,

2) *it-ti ma-at-te-šub KI-MIN*

with Mattešub, son of the same,

3) *i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni dayyân [i^{mes}]*

in litigation, before the judges,

¹⁵ See lines 6 and 8; and 16. For the linguistic technicalities, cf. my «The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets», *Orientalia* 7, 1938, pp. 32-63, 215-232.

¹⁶ In line 13 *la!* looks much like *NA*.

¹⁷ All of the Nuzu court proceedings are brief digests; not full reports,

- 4) *i-te-lu-ma um-ma ^mgur-p[a]-za-[a]ḫ-[m]a*
 went up. So says Gulpazah :
- 5) *aššati-ia ^mma-at-te-šub i[m]-ta-ḫa-aš-mi*
 « Mattešub struck my wife
- 6) *ù qà-ti-šú ḫu-šu-um-ma itepuš¹⁸ ù dayyânū^{meš}*
^mma-at-te-šub
 and injured her hand. » And the judges questioned
- 7) *iš-ta-lu-uš ù um-ma šu-ú-ma*
 Mattešub and so he says :
- 8) *aššat-zu ša ^mgur-pa-za-aḫ la i[r-t]a-pi-is*
 « I did not beat Gulpazah's wife
ù qà-ti-šú ḫu-šu-um-ma la epuš
 nor did I injure her hand. »
- 9) *ù dayyânū^{meš} a-na ^mgur-[pa-za]-aḫ*
 And the judges said to
- 10) *iq-ta-bu-ú a-lik-m[i? a-na]*
 Gulpazah : « Go! To
- 11) *^mma-at-te-šub ilâni^{meš} i-ši-iš-mi*
 Mattešub carry the gods!
- 12) *im-ma-ti-me-e ^mgur-pa-za-aḫ*
 When Gulpazah
- 13) *a-na ilâni^{meš} i-la!-ak-mi ù!*
 will go to the gods, then
- 14) *^mma-at-te-šub ^mgur-pa-za-aḫ*
 Mattešub will seize
- 15) *iš-ša-bat-mi ù qá-an-na-šu*
 Gulpazah, and his belt
- 16) *i-na qá-an-ni-šu ḫé-is-mu-um-ma*
 in his belt, he will (try to) wrest
- 17) *i-pu-uš ù i-na di-ni*
 away. » And in the litigation
- 18) *^mgur-pa-za-aḫ il-te-e-ma*
 Gulpazah prevailed.

¹⁸ Misplaced by the scribe or copyist after line 6.

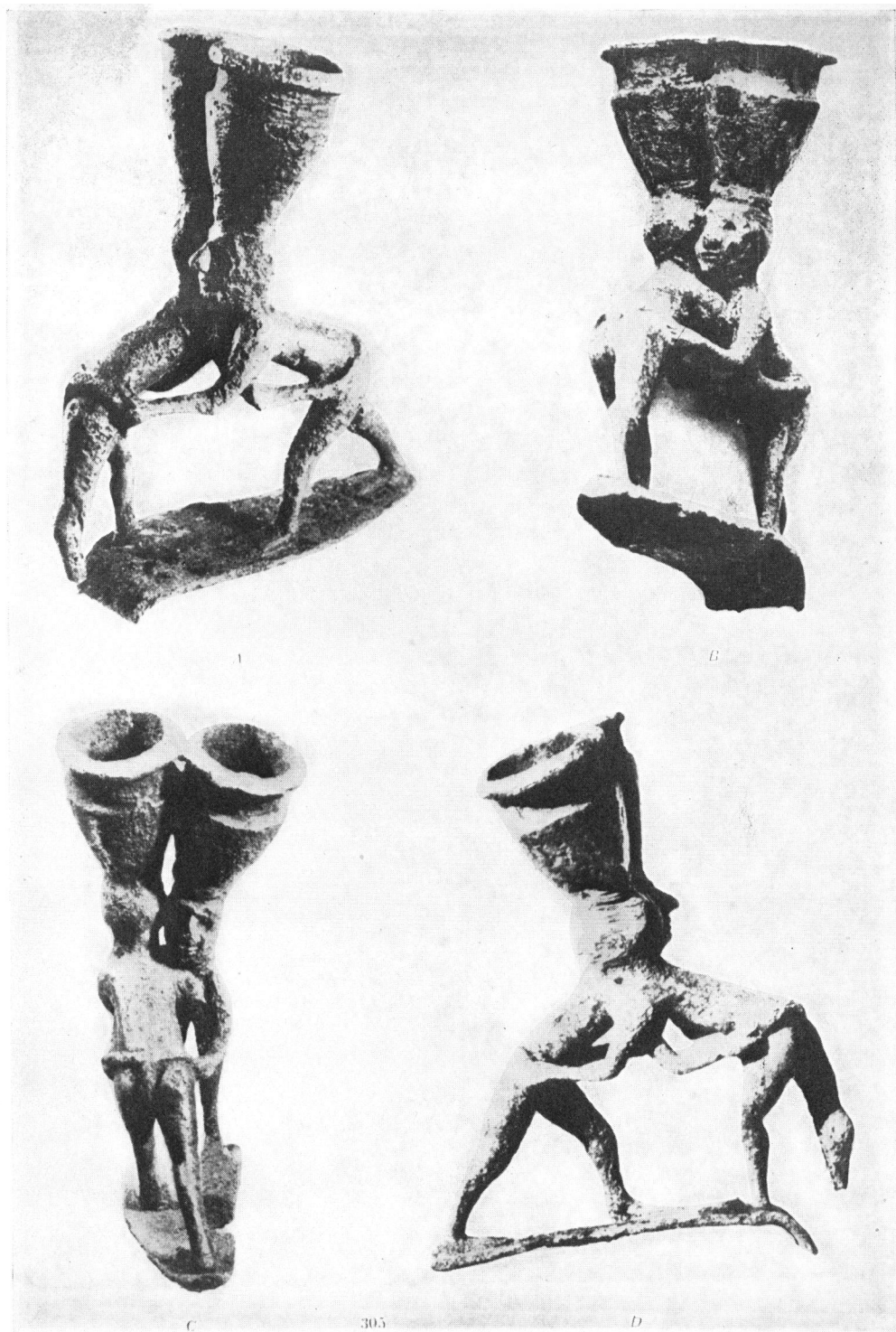
- 19) *ù dayyânū^{meš} ma-at-te-šub*
And the judges sentenced Mattešub
20) *a-na 1 alpi a-na gur-pa-za-aḥ*
to (pay) one ox to Gurpazah
21) *a-na qá-an-ni-šu it-ta-du-uš*
for his belt.

That ordeal by belt-wrestling was also a Hebrew court procedure, though not fully demonstrable, is nevertheless a possibility in Job 38:3 and 40:7¹⁹ in the showdown between God and Job, for the Book of Job frequently reflects court usages.

This paper is not meant as an exhaustive study of belt-wrestling in the Hebrew Bible. Anyone who takes the trouble to study all the references in the concordance, under אָזַר, חָגַר and גָּזַר will find many more (but not all) of the applications. Even less does this article pretend to cover the subject throughout the art and literature of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece. The aim here is merely to identify the phenomenon so that other students may recognize it in handling the texts and monuments of their specialties. That so clearly-portrayed and widespread a phenomenon has been completely missed by both philologists and art historians is simply another reminder of how much is left for all of us and our disciples to do, even in the most familiar classics such as the Bible and Homer.²⁰

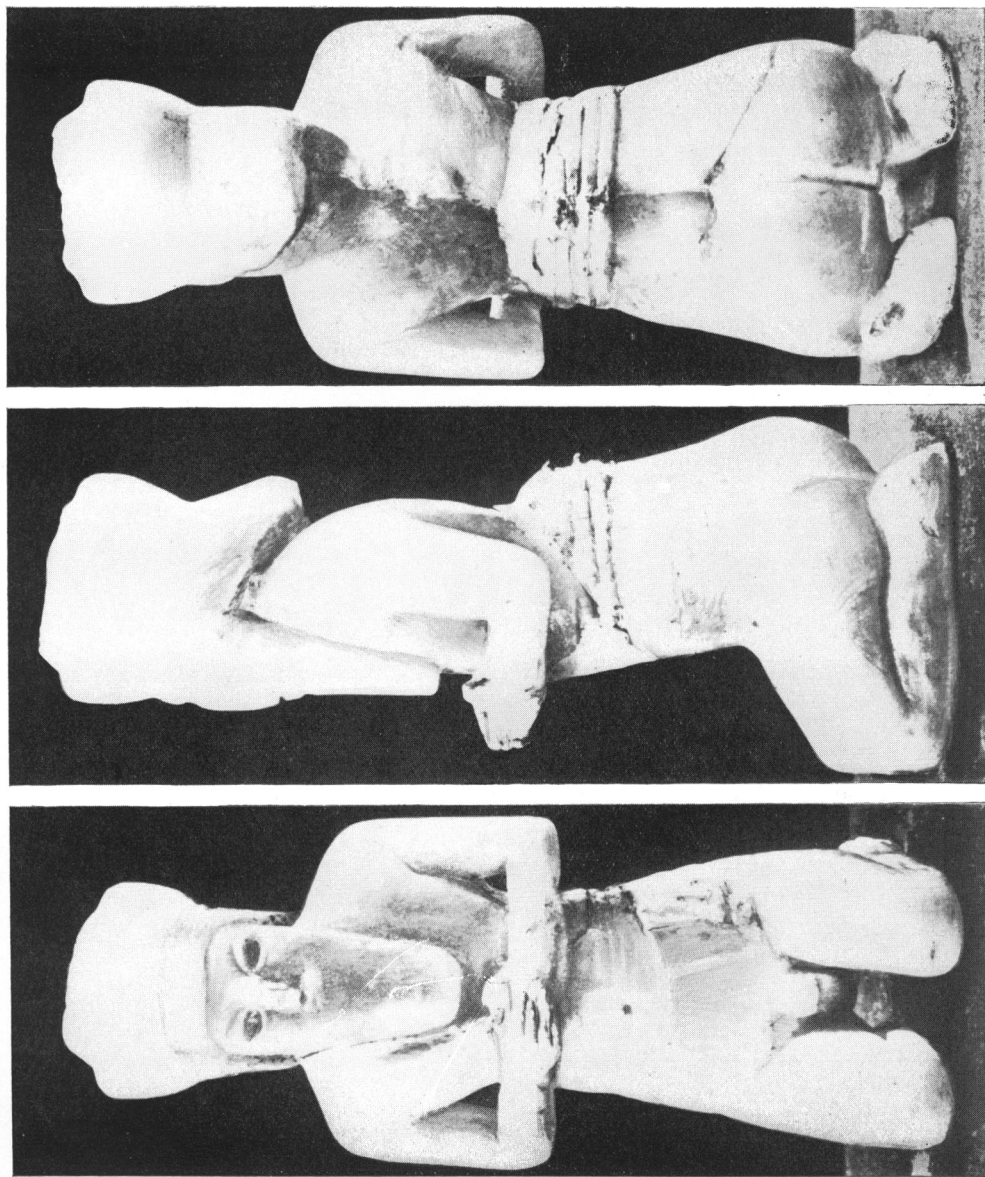
¹⁹ L. N. Manross *apud* C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 134. My friend H. L. Ginsberg has convinced me that Is. 31:11 deals with expressing grief and has no connection with the ordeal as I had thought.

²⁰ W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, Washington, 1921, takes no notice of belt-wrestling in his account of wrestling on pp. 228-234. E. N. Gardiner (*op. cit.*, p. 7) goes so far as to mistake the plainly-depicted belts on the nude Beni Hasan wrestlers, as loin-cloths,



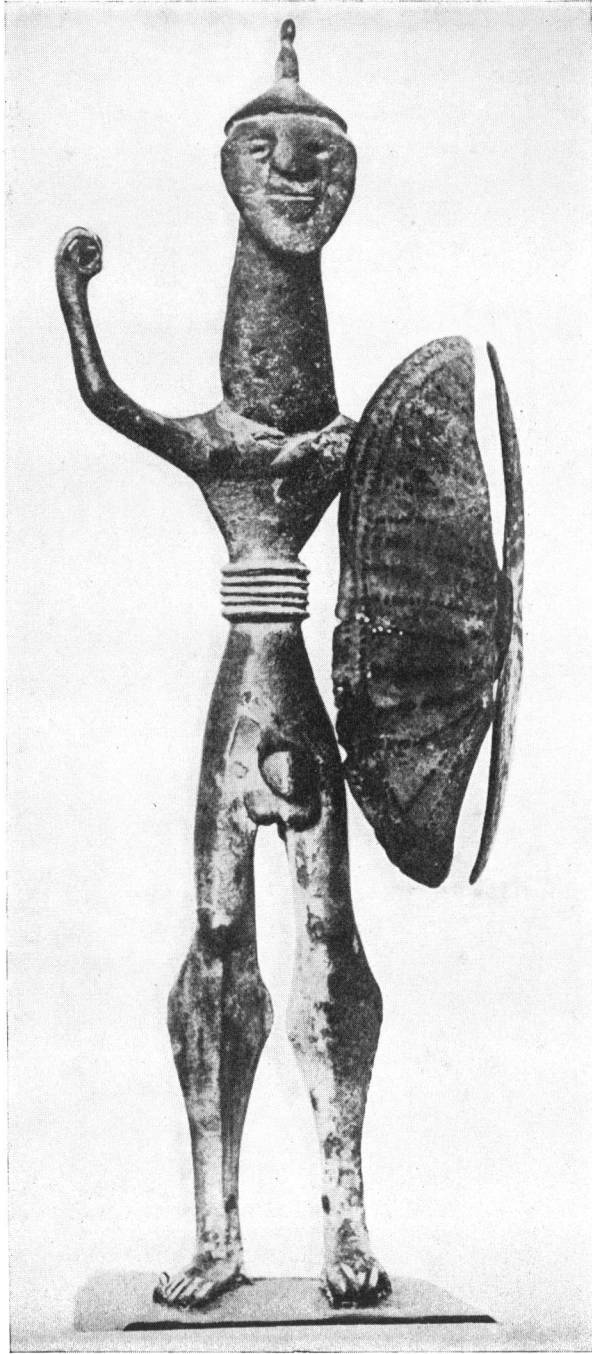
« THE KHAFAJE WRESTLERS »

From H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region* (= OIP 60), Chicago, 1943, pl. 54, courtesy of the Joint Babylonian Expedition of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Schools of Oriental Research.



« NUDE BELTED HERO FROM TELL ASMAR »

From H. Frankfort, *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah*
(= OIP 44), Chicago, 1939, pl. 27,
courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

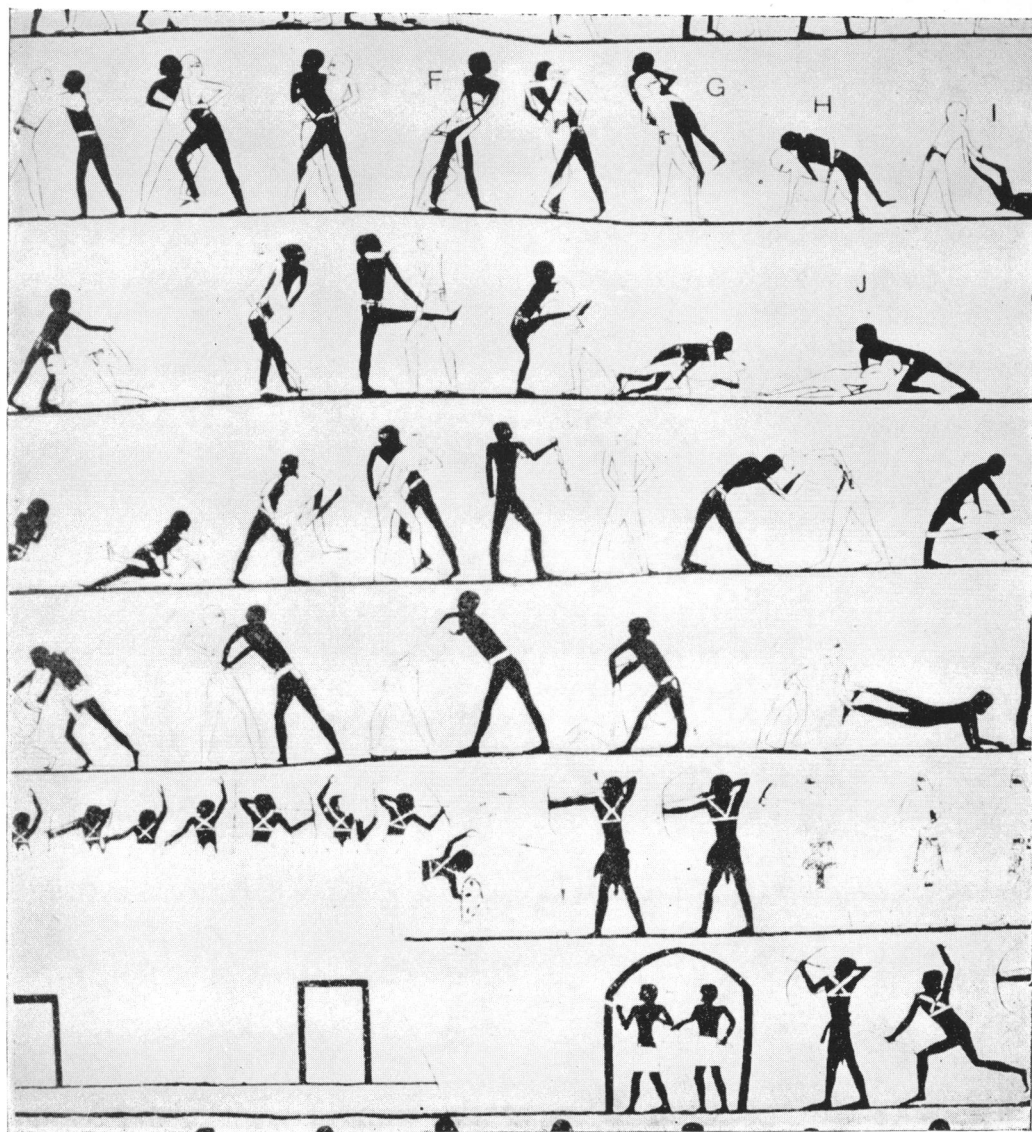


« EARLY GREEK WARRIOR »

From C. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce du troisième millénaire au IV^e siècle avant notre ère*,
Paris, 1946, figure 48,
courtesy of Éditions Cahiers d'Art, Paris.



« BELTED WRESTLERS FROM BENI HASAN »
From P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Part II, London, 1894, pl. 8,
courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society, London,



« BENI HASAN SKETCHES »

From P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Part II, London, 1894, pl. 15,
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The Patriarchal Age

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The Patriarchal Age

CYRUS H. GORDON*

ARCHEOLOGICAL discovery has shed more light on the patriarchal period than on any other biblical age. This is not altogether an accident, for the days of the patriarchs witnessed the great cultural synthesis known as the Amarna Age (15th-14th centuries B.C.) that produced abundant records on imperishable clay, from Assyria to Egypt, from Babylonia to Asia Minor and the Aegean shores. The focal point of this international blending was patriarchal Canaan, where Mesopotamians, Hittites, Hurrians, Caphtorians, Amorites, Arameans and Egyptians made their impact on the native Canaanites. It was such a stage on which Abraham played his role after migrating from Mesopotamia to Palestine. Small wonder then that the rich finds of Babylonian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Egyptian and other texts of the Amarna Age are in the process of illuminating the long misunderstood narratives about Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.¹

Biblical tradition attributes the foundation of Hebrew Yahwism to the Patriarchal Period. To be sure, Yahwe had been known in the remote past (Gen. 4:26) but his monotheism, as associated with his people, dates from Abraham. This is in general

borne out by extra-biblical sources. Thus Yahwistic personal names of the so-called Amorites occur on Babylonian tablets prior to Abraham's time. On the other hand, it is now clear that the monotheistic crystallization which took place in the patriarchal period fits into a historic context when monotheism was in the air internationally. From prehistoric antiquity the polytheistic Semites had a god par excellence; 'el as a common noun designated any "god" but as a proper noun meant the supreme "God." Down to the Amarna Age, individual nations lived more or less to themselves, and "El," if not the one and only God, could serve as head of a pantheon. But when all the civilized world became united culturally in the Amarna Age, men became aware of the oneness of the world and were naturally led toward universal monotheism. It was in Egypt that the most spectacular development took place. The Sun-god had since the Old Kingdom won a preëminent place in the pantheon, but under the stimulus of Amarna Age internationalism the Sun achieved unprecedented monotheistic status under Ikhnaton. In Canaan—the focal point of cultural fusion in that Age—El-Elyon ("El, the Most High"), the god who had created the heaven and earth (Gen. 14:18-20), was identified with Yahwe God of the universe (Gen. 21:33) or with Yahwe God of the heavens and God of the earth (Gen. 24:3), and was accepted by all the inhabitants as the contexts show: by the Hebrews, by Melchisedek (priest-king of Salem) and by the Philistines of Gerar. Amarna Age cosmopolitanism left no room for sectarian monopoly; God reveals himself to the Gentile King of Gerar (Gen. 20:3-7) as well as to his chosen people.

The monotheistic crystallizations among the Hebrew patriarchs and in Ikhnaton's

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Egypt were linked, however different the antecedents of Yahwe and of Aton-Re may have been. The Patriarchs had contacts with Egypt repeatedly. Famine in Canaan forced Abraham to seek food there (Gen. 12:10), a situation that was to happen time and again even though the migration that led to the bondage and Exodus is more celebrated than many a similar migration. Hagar was an Egyptian (Gen. 16:1, 3) and got an Egyptian bride for Abraham's son Ishmael (Gen. 21:21). Accordingly, it is not strange that developments in early Israel and contemporary Egypt should be related. But it is worth noting that Egypt (laterally located, and the most isolationistic nation of the Amarna World) experienced a thoroughly ephemeral monotheism, whereas the Hebrews (lodged at the hub of Amarna internationalism) experienced the monotheism destined to survive for all time and to spread in the course of millennia to the four corners of the earth.

It follows from the above that the basic developments of patriarchal religion are products of the Amarna Age, and we should find them paralleled in the rich extra-biblical documents of that age. We may start with the concept of the paternal or ancestral god. The patriarchs and their Mesopotamian kinsmen invoke the "God of my father" and the like (Gen. 31:42, 53; 32:10; 49:25; etc.). This is also attested in contemporary Ugarit; e.g., where El, with reference to King Keret is called the "Bull of his father" (Krt: 41). It will be recalled that Yahwe is also called the Bull of a patriarchal father (Gen. 49:24; etc.).

The manner and details of revelation are shared by Genesis and the Ugaritic epics. In the Keret and Aqhat texts, El tells the individual men in whose welfare he is interested what sacrifices and rituals they are to perform; the technique of incubation is central; inerrant revelation is given by El to his favorite mortal. This is of a piece

with Genesis 15:9ff., where God prescribes the sacrifices and rituals to be made by Abraham, who undergoes incubation (v. 12), whereupon the revealed message follows (v. 13ff.).

God may look out for His human favorites along purely materialistic lines. Thus Jacob is granted a theophany so that he may come off richer than Laban (Gen. 31:10-13; cf. 24:35 where the blessing is also for wealth). However, the typical purposes of revelation in the patriarchal narratives are to assure abundant progeny, possession of The Land, and occasionally (but significantly) kingship. This divine promise is at the core of the Covenant, which Hebrew tradition attributes to the patriarchal age (Gen. 12:7; 13:14-17; 15: 4-5, 18; 17: 1-21; 18:18; 22: 17-18; 26: 2-5, 24; 28: 10-15; 35: 9-12; etc.). The historicity of this claim is, chronologically speaking, borne out by the contemporary Ugaritic epics which stress the covenant between El and his human protégés to whom he reveals his promise of progeny and kingship. Indeed this is the theme of the Epics of Keret and of Aqhat, which every Bible student should read with this in mind.

The patriarchal narratives embrace human as well as divine blessings. The Hebrew word for "blessing" has a wider range of meaning than its English rendering. It includes the notion of "gift;" thus in Gen. 33:11 "my blessing" denotes, as the context demands, "my gift."² This is the key to the emphasis on the human patriarchal blessings such as those of Isaac (Gen. 27) and Jacob (Gen. 49). Those blessings have the force of legally binding wills and testaments. In the Amarna Age tablets from Nuzu, a court upholds a man's right to a bequest granted to him orally by his aged father, who anticipated death, much as old Isaac and Jacob, expecting death, "blessed" their sons with their last wills and testaments. The ma-

terialistic side is stressed in the relations between Esau and Jacob; for Jacob, who purchased Esau's rights of primogeniture (which were negotiable among brothers also in Nuzu), secured those rights by the legally valid paternal blessing as well.

No matter how international the Amarna Age was culturally, the world was fragmented into numerous nations politically, especially in Canaan where the little city-state was the norm. The national side of the Covenant is clear from such passages as Gen. 18:18. Judaism has continued to stress the national element to the present day. To be sure, except for the Jews of Israeli citizenship, the Jewish "nation" is no longer political but ethnic. Western Christianity, on the other hand, is non-ethnic, which makes possible the urge to convert all members of the human race to whatever denomination the western missionary belongs. However, the old Oriental churches are to this day national. The Copts would consider it ludicrous for an American or an Eskimo to join the Coptic church. Similarly, the Armenian Church is for Armenians only; and the same holds for the Greek, Ethiopian and other Eastern churches. In other words, while all those Christians believe in Christianity for all men, they want only their own "nationals" in their particular national church: a Near East attitude already noticeable in patriarchal antiquity.

Far more specific than nationalism in the patriarchal narratives is the theme of kingship promised by God to his chosen family. In Gen. 17:6 and 35:11 he promises Abraham and Jacob that kings will emerge among their progeny. The motif of divinely-promised royal progeny is at the heart of the Epic of Keret. Moreover, such progeny is not borne by any random wife of the hero, but precisely by a divinely-chosen wife whose special offspring is predicted by divine annunciation. In the Epic of Keret she is the princess Hurrai,

whose name means "Free Lady." In Genesis, God's chosen Mother of Kings (17:16) is Sarai, whose name means "Princess" and who is the "free" wife as opposed to the slave-wife, Hagar. Like "Hurrai," "Sarai" ends in the archaic feminine suffix—*ai*, pointing to the epical derivation of Sarai's name.

The patriarchal narratives have been fitted into the larger framework of the epic of David's dynasty. The boundaries of Abraham's seed in Gen. 15:18 can only be those of David's empire.

The role of the divine in the theme of promised progeny hinges on the belief that biological factors, though necessary, are not sufficient to result in conception and childbirth. Jacob reminds Rachel that her barrenness is not due to him but to God who has withheld the fruit of her womb (Gen. 30:2). Nor does the childless Rebecca conceive until Isaac entreats God on her behalf and God grants his plea (Gen. 25:21). This is akin to the Epic of Aqhat, where the virtuous Danel prays to El that his wife should bear him a son; only after El grants his prayer does Danel's wife conceive and give birth, after fulfilling the biological requirements which are as indispensable as the divine blessing. In this regard it may be noted that the *miraculous* birth of Jesus has no antecedents *as such* in the extant Canaanite-Hebraic literature. The Immanuel annunciation is, to be sure, anticipated in Ugaritic text 77.³ But neither the *ʿalmah* of Isaiah, nor the *ʿalmah* or *betulah* of text 77, nor the *parthenos* in the Septuagint version of the Immanuel prophecy, implies the virginity of the mother at the time of the childbirth. In Ugarit, the *Betulah* Anath is not a virgin. Her epithet (*Ybmt*) seems to be the same word as the Hebrew for "widowed sister-in-law;" and text 132, though fragmentary, seems to describe her amorous exploits with Baal. In an Aramaic incantation⁴ a woman having difficulty in bearing her (presum-

ably first) child is nonetheless called *betulta* (= Heb. *betulah*). Dr. E. J. Young calls my attention to the fact that the *betulah* of Joel 1:8 must have been married for she mourns "the husband of her youth." Dr. H. S. Gehman informs me that *parthenos* as early as Homer (e.g., Iliad 2:514) may refer to a woman who is no longer a virgin. All this may explain why Rebecca, who is called an *'almah* in Gen. 24:43, and a *betulah* in 24:16, is (to make matters unequivocally clear) additionally described as a girl that "no man had known" (24:16). Neither *'almah* nor *betulah* nor *parthenos* means necessarily what "virgin" means in English. The birth of Jesus is according to Matt. 1:18-25 supernatural, not because v. 23 identifies Mary with the *'almah/parthenos* of Is. 7:14, but because v. 20 specifies that she had conceived of the Holy Spirit and not of Joseph.

Before we pass from the more religious to the more secular considerations, we should note that the monotheistic patriarchs could not completely escape from the polytheistic *milieu* that had engulfed the Near East since before the dawn of history, and re-engulfed all the area (including post-Ikhnaton Egypt) with the exception of Israel after the Amarna Age. When Abraham speaks with the Gentile Abimelech (Gen. 20:13), he adjusts his language to his listener and speaks of the polytheistic *elohim*,⁵ who had caused (plural *hit'u*) him to wander from his father's home. However, for Hebraic ears, we find the statement that the monotheistic Elohim healed (singular *wayyirpa'*) Abimelech (v. 17). At the head of the pantheon in Ugaritic text 107:1 is El-Beth-El; with whom the angel of God is identified in Gen. 31:13; cf. 35:7 which has a polytheistic ring also in the statement that the gods⁶ were revealed (plural *niglu*) to Jacob there.

The cuneiform contracts from Nuzu have demonstrated that the social institutions

of the patriarchs are genuine and pre-Mosaic. They cannot have been invented by any post-Mosaic J, E, D or P. The importance of cuneiform law for biblical law is enormous and direct, for the early Canaanites rarely used their own language and background for their legal records. At Ugarit, Babylonian is thus the commonest language for contracts, even though the native Ugaritic tongue is the medium of literature. This state of affairs accounts for some of the long noted Babylonian elements in pre-exilic biblical law.

One of the cuneiform law codes is the Hittite Code, which has illuminated Gen. 23 that tells how Abraham bought the field containing the Cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite in the presence of the Sons of Heth (= Hittites). The Hittite Code (as demonstrated by M. F. Lehmann, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 129, Feb. 1953, pp. 15-18) shows that the discussion between Abraham and Ephron was not haggling over price, but was due to the peculiarly Hittite law requiring that levies on real estate be borne by the original landowner as long as he held on to any part of the estate. Abraham, to sidestep such obligations, tried to buy only the corner of the field containing the cave (v. 9). But Ephron wanted to unburden himself of the entire field including the cave (v. 11) so that Abraham should bear the obligations (corresponding to our real-estate tax, though they may have included liability to military service or *corvée*). With a corpse on his hands requiring prompt burial, Abraham was in no position to hold out, and so had to buy the whole field to get the cave.

Above we have alluded to the epic element in our prose patriarchal narratives. Certain vestiges of the poetic originals still peer through the prose (to say nothing of the outright poetic survivals such as the patriarchal blessings). For example the

parallelistic utterance in Gen. 21:1 ("And Yahwe remembered Sarah as He had said || Yea Yahwe did for Sarah as He had spoken") may well be a remnant of the original epic poem. In normal Hebrew prose, either half of the utterance would suffice.

When Jacob bows to the earth seven times before Esau (Gen. 33:3), he is simply making the conventional sevenfold prostration that occurs again and again in the epistles of Amarna and Ugarit. When Joseph (Gen. 37:9) dreams of heavenly bodies symbolizing people, his imagery is that duplicated in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic (I:v: 26-47; II: i:1-23), where Gilgamesh dreams of a star symbolizing Enkidu.

The atmosphere of the patriarchal narratives contains many an epic element that modern readers would find easier to digest in poetry than in prose. An angel leads Eliezer's caravan (Gen. 24:7, 40); and Jacob, en route to Palestine, sees angels (Gen. 32:2). (This is much like the atmosphere of Ugaritic poetry, and of the Homeric Epics which are developments in the wake of, and organically related to, the same Amarna Age that produced the patriarchal narratives and the Ugaritic epics.) Just as the Ugaritic Danel entertains deities, and gets his wife to help prepare dinner, so too Abraham welcomes gods in his tent (Gen. 18:1ff.; cf. 19:1ff.) and orders his wife to help prepare the repast (18:6).

That Leah bears six sons and then a daughter as the seventh child (Gen. 30: 20-21) takes on an epic ring in the light of the Ugaritic predilection for climaxing a number with the next higher number.⁹ Specifically, it is predicted to Keret: (Hurrai) shall bear thee seven sons, and an eighth (daughter) 'Octavia.' "¹⁰

In his "last will and testament," Jacob invokes "the blessings of breasts and Raḥm" (Gen. 49:25), where Raḥm can

mean either "womb" or the fertility goddess, Raḥm. Indeed both may have been equated in the mind of the poet. Compare Ugaritic text 52 (see lines 13, 16, 24, 28, 59, 61), where the divine breasts and Raḥm figure prominently in a cultic fertility poem.

The Epic of Aqhat features a wondrous bow fashioned for the hero, Aqhat, destined from infancy to become a celebrated archer. A similar motif may underlie our abbreviated text which states that Hagar (Gen. 21:16) was distant from Ishmael by a bow-shot and that Ishmael was destined to become a bowman (v. 20). Inasmuch as Ishmael is to sire twelve princes (Gen. 25:13-16), we must consider the possibility that Ishmael's saga has been trimmed down in subordination to the orthodox genealogy through Isaac (Gen. 17:20-21), for Hebraic tradition could not grant the twelve Ishmaelite princes equality with the twelve fathers of the Israelite tribes.¹¹ Yet in its original form, the saga of Ishmael may well have recounted the giving of a bow by a deity¹² to the parent of Ishmael, even as a god gives the bow to Danel for his son Aqhat.

The patriarchal narratives are no longer a mystery in isolation; they now fit into a well-documented historic context. This, as we have seen, solves numerous riddles in Genesis. That it opens new problems is simply a reminder that biblical studies will continue to be dynamic and challenging in the years ahead.

REFERENCES

¹For background and various technicalities, the reader is referred to my *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, Ventnor Publishers, Ventnor (N. J.), 1953. This article stresses new material which has come to light in the year that has elapsed since the completion of that book.

²RSV (*Revised Standard Version*) "my gift" is correct, but it completely obscures the fact that the Hebrew *birkati* is literally "my blessing," which is the key to our problem.

³ See this *Journal* 21, 1953, p. 106.

⁴ J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Phila., 1913, text 13:9.

⁵ RSV has, rather puritanically, "God."

⁶ Again RSV "God."

⁹ The comparative method should never be used to read something from one source into another. The phenomenon we are now discussing, far from being alien to the Bible, is exceedingly common in it (e.g., Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6; Prov. 30:15, 18, 21; and, indeed, climaxing the six-day creation with the seventh holy day of rest may go hand in

hand with the original poetic form underlying our Genesis epic of creation). It is a matter of experience that comparative materials, such as extrabiblical sources, enable us to see things that are actually in the Bible but which we could not see previously for lack of background.

¹⁰ The latter hemistich is to be read *wəmmnt ʾōtmnt!..!* (Ug. text 128:II:24); "*t*." has hitherto been misread as *m*.

¹¹ Gen. 36 suggests another (now subordinated) epic of kings: for the house of Esau.

¹² = God or the angel of Gen. 21:17.



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THE PATRIARCHAL NARRATIVES

CYRUS H. GORDON

THE evaluation of the Patriarchal Narratives in Genesis varies widely. To some they are a mixture of myth and legend; to others they are history. Some would date them as early as the twentieth century B.C.;¹ the present writer would place them in the Amarna age. The problem is complicated because the text of the Narratives has undergone some transformation. As we shall see, the cuneiform and Egyptian parallels point to the Amarna age as the date of the Patriarchs. But the Narratives have been integrated into a larger framework, embracing the Exodus (Gen. 15:13) and culminating in the establishment of the Davidic Empire (for Gen. 15:18 can only refer to the Davidic boundaries).

The contracts from Kirkuk and near-by Nuzu confront us with biblical parallels that cluster around the Patriarchs. The subject has been treated comprehensively² so that a few references reflecting usages known only from those contracts and the Patriarchal Narratives will suffice us here. (1) The sale of Esau's birthright to his brother for food is paralleled in an *ahûtu* ("brotherhood") tablet from Nuzu,³ where N. sells his future inheritance rights to his brother for three sheep. Thus inheritance rights were negotiable from brother to brother. Nor was Esau the only hungry man who sold his birthright for food. (2) Rachel's theft of her father's

household idols is paralleled in a Kirkuk marriage contract⁴ requiring the idols to pass on to a real son of the father⁵ and not to the son-in-law.⁶ Rachel's chicanery thus ran counter to a widespread social usage in the Amarna age. (3) The importance attached to oral blessings given to their children by the Patriarchs in their old age, or specifically on their deathbed, is elucidated by a Nuzu contract⁷ showing that the courts would uphold bequests made by a father to a son via an oral blessing from the deathbed.

The reason for the Nuzu-Patriarchal parallels is twofold: chronological and geographical. Both sources hail from Hurrian terrain of the Amarna age. Nuzu was a Hurrian community; and the Harran area, whence Abram migrated to Canaan, and where Jacob joined Laban's household, lay within the confines of the Hurrian Kingdom of Mitanni. Moreover, even Canaan was so much under Hurrian influence that the Egyptians referred to it as Hurru-land.

Just as the social institutions of the Narratives are paralleled in Nuzu, the literary motifs of the Narratives are paralleled often and plainly enough in the legends (rather than the myths) of Ugarit. Preoccupation with the birth of the right son pervades the Patriarchal Narratives and Ugaritic literature. The Legends of Aqhat and Keret deal with this motif, which is also familiar from the account

¹ See the valuable study of the whole Patriarchal question by R. de Vaux in *Revue biblique*, LIII (1946), 328-49; LV (1948), 321-48; LVI (1949), 5-36.

² C. H. Gordon, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets," *Biblical Archaeologist*, III (1940), 1-12.

³ E. Chiera, *Publications of the Baghdad School*, Vol. II (Paris, 1930), Text 204.

⁴ C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXIII (1926), 49-161, Text 51.

⁵ Cf. Laban.

⁶ Cf. Jacob. Actually the parallel is far more detailed than there is space to describe here; see *Biblical Archaeologist*, III (1940), 5-6.

leading up to the birth of Isaac. Nor is the resemblance merely one of general motif; the parallel is quite detailed. In Genesis, chapter 15, Abraham undergoes incubation (like Ugaritic Daniel⁸ for the same purpose), at which time God gives him instructions as to the rituals he shall perform to achieve success (much as in Keret 26-84). Divine blessings and annunciations precede the birth of the promised son.⁹ And after children are born, saga dwells on the eclipsing of the elder by the younger (e.g., Esau by Jacob; cf. Keret's youngest son who is to succeed to the throne). Another feature of Ugaritic and the Patriarchal Narratives is the theme of romantic marriage, which is not found in extant literature before the Amarna age. Thus Keret must wage a war to regain his princess bride; Rebecca must be dramatically fetched from afar for marrying Isaac; Jacob must overcome major obstacles to win his beloved Rachel. These literary motifs must not be interpreted as discrediting the basic historicity of the Patriarchs. Every society has individuals who long for sons, or has juniors who outstrip their seniors, or has marriages accomplished only after difficulties have been obviated romantically. The significant fact in our investigation is that precisely these features are singled out as worthy of commemoration. (Contrast post-Solomonic Hebrew history, where no mention is made of these features, however much they must have persisted in real life.)

Genesis, chapter 14, stands apart from the rest of the Patriarchal Narratives, apparently because it stems from a different school of literature. For instance, the common device of climaxing a number by

the next higher one takes on atypical forms in this chapter. When we read in verses 8-9 that five kings fought against four, the statement is repeated chiasmatically¹⁰ as "4 vs. 5." In Ugarit and the Old Testament we are familiar with "2 || 3," "3 || 4," and especially "7 || 8"; but not "4 || 5." Furthermore, the sequence "12 || 13 || 14" in verses 4-5 stems from a literary tradition other than that known to us from Ugarit and elsewhere in the Old Testament. Since the Hurrian Kingdom of Mitanni included the Paddan-Aram homeland of the Aramean branch of the Patriarchal family, it is worth considering the possibility of Hurrian literary background for Genesis, chapter 14. There is indeed some evidence in Genesis, chapter 14, pointing in this direction. The number of Abram's troops is given in verse 14 as 318. This is strikingly paralleled in the Egyptian inscription¹¹ commemorating the wedding of Amenophis III to the Mitanni princess Giluhepa. The latter comes with a retinue of 317 girls, so that the bevy of maidens including Giluhepa is 318. Thus 318 looks like a conventional number for a large group (be it a company of soldiers or a bevy of maidens) in the milieu whence the Mitanni princess and the Hebrew Patriarchs hailed.

All these parallels—Ugaritic, Babylonian, and Egyptian—are from the Amarna age. We may therefore inquire as to whether there is anything in the biblical text to confirm an Amarna date for the Patriarchs. It is generally held that the

⁸ For further information on these and other Old Testament-Ugaritic motifs see C. H. Gordon, *JNES*, XI (1952), 212-13; *JAOS*, LXXII (1952), 180-81; *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (Ventnor [N.J.], 1953), pp. 100-19, 289-97.

¹⁰ Chiasm is obligatory here because the smaller numeral must come first. Cf. *Ugaritic Handbook*, p. 34.

¹¹ Conveniently reproduced in A. De Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden, 1948), p. 67.

⁷ Pfeiffer-Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vol. XVI (1936), Text 56.

⁸ Aqhat: I: 2-27.

Exodus dates from the latter part of the thirteenth century (roughly about 1225 B.C.). Moses is directly descended from Abraham and is separated from him by five forefathers (Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram). In the normal course of life, this would indicate that the year 1400 would fall within Abraham's career, with the result that the Patriarchal age and the Amarna age would overlap.¹²

It remains to consider the historical and cultural setting of the Amarna age into which the Patriarchs would then fit. We may well start with religious developments, for Hebraic tradition attributes the covenant and the basic relation between Yahweh and his people to the Patriarchal age. The Amarna age was one when monotheistic trends were crystallizing. In Egypt solar monotheism had been a trend since Old Kingdom times, but only in the Amarna age was it pushed to its logical conclusion by Akhenaton. In Semitic Asia there had also been a monotheistic trend, whereby El was elevated above the other gods. Semitic 'il not only designates god in general but also God in particular. In Ugarit, El was simply the head of the pantheon rather than the one and only object of worship. But there was a trend toward worshiping only the one supreme god of the universe. In Gen. 14:22 the priest-king Melchisedek's deity El Elyon is identified with Yahweh:

"Yahweh-El Elyon, creator of heaven and earth." The same deity might be called God of the Universe, with whom Yahweh could be identified; thus Yahweh-El 'Olam in Gen. 21:33. Another variant form of this identification was "Yahweh, God of heaven and God of earth" (Gen. 24:3). It is interesting to note that this universal god was invoked in pacts between Patriarchs and inhabitants of Canaan unrelated to them in blood or culturally (cf. Gen. 21:33).

We are therefore led to the conclusion that the significant monotheistic development of the Amarna age was not the ephemeral religion of Akhenaton but the lasting one of Abraham.¹³ What is true of religion also holds for literature. However remarkable the ephemeral artistic revolution of Akhenaton, it cannot be compared in influence with the Patriarchal Narratives that have taken hold as world classics. This is not to set up any per se standard of comparison but merely to apply the principle that what is most important in any period is that which most affects the future.

It is worth asking why the synthesis of the Amarna age had its most lasting results among the Patriarchal Hebrews rather than among the greater nations of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia. Palestine happened to be the point of maximum synthesis, where Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Mediterranean influences fused with the native Canaanite culture. A picture of what was happening is clearly reflected in the Narratives. Abraham was of Mesopotamian origin, and his son and grandson married girls

¹² Why the testimony of the genealogies outweighs that of the epic year-numbers is discussed in *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 103-4.

N. Schneider (*Biblica*, XXXIII [1952], 516-22) points out Ur III parallels to the Patriarchal names of Abram, Nahor, Haran, Serug, and Terah. That these parallels should be interpreted geographically, rather than chronologically, is supported by the fact that, as soon as the Patriarchs quit Mesopotamia, the onomastic parallels from Mesopotamia cease. Names frequently persist for centuries. Indeed, the abrupt shift from Mesopotamian to Canaanite names as soon as the Patriarchs settle in Canaan, is an element that favors the general historicity of the Narratives.

¹³ The term "monotheism" is not meant to imply a philosophically perfect monotheism. It is used here in the conventional and logically imperfect way that it is applied to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, even though all three monotheisms traditionally recognize the existence of Satan, the angels Gabriel and Michael, etc.

from their kin in Mitanni. At the same time, Egyptian blood was in the Patriarchal household; Hagar was Egyptian as was also her son Ishmael's wife. Moreover, famine repeatedly drove the Patriarchs to Egypt from Abraham's time on. Canaan itself was a melting pot of Semite, Hurrian, Caphtorian, and other groups. The Patriarchal Hebrews enjoyed the ideal spot and the ideal time to fall heir to the rich and varied heritage of the entire ancient Near East, when Egypt and Babylonia were nearly spent. Furthermore, the pastoral and seminomadic purity of Patriarchal life saved the Hebrews from the decadence of that cosmopolitan age.

The Amarna age is the pivotal era of

the ancient Near East. In it were blended the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Canaan, Caphtor, and Egypt. Out of it sprang the whole repertoire of post-Amarna cultures such as the Middle Assyrian, Phoenician, Late Egyptian, and especially Hebrew cultures. Besides, even the post-Amarna Caphtorian cultures are to some extent the products of the Amarna age, as is indicated by the spread of the clay tablet for writing over an area ranging from Cyprus to Mycenae and Pylos.¹⁴

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¹⁴ Much of the material is unpublished; e.g., the inscribed clay tablet found by P. Dikaios at Enkomi, Cyprus, dating from about the close of the thirteenth century B.C.



The Origin of the Jews in Elephantine

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THE ORIGIN OF THE JEWS IN ELEPHANTINE

CYRUS H. GORDON

Two new groups of texts from Egypt reopen the moot question of the origin of the Jewish colony at Elephantine. E. G. Kraeling's *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven, 1953) confirm and enrich the picture of the Jewish colony depicted in Cowley's corpus.¹ G. R. Driver's *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1954) come not from the colony but from the Persian administration and provide us with collateral evidence for a new solution of an old riddle.

The Jewish temple at Elephantine had already been established before Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525;² how much before we do not know. The papyri of the colonists are Aramaic and reflect no direct familiarity with the Hebrew language or Hebrew Scriptures. This indicates that the colonists cannot have come to Elephantine from Judah, where, in 586, as the Lachish ostraca show, the language of writing as well as of speech was still pure Hebrew with no trace of Aramaic. It is untenable to maintain that the Persians taught and forced the Jews of Elephantine to use Aramaic, and only Aramaic, even in private contracts between Jews. Moreover, if the colonists had come from Judah after Josiah's reform in 621, we could expect them to have texts of some parts of the Bible, alongside a purely pagan literary composition like the Ahiqar Romance.³ But no scrap of Sacred Scripture

has come to light at Elephantine. Furthermore, if the colonists had come from Judah at any time after the enthronement of Rehoboam, we should expect them to have a unique interest in the Jerusalem Temple instead of appealing to the Samaritan⁴ and Jerusalem⁵ authorities in the fifth century B.C. on an equal footing. And, however much we might be able to understand their syncretism and the admission of Canaanite gods into their worship, there is no way of explaining the independent form of the divine name "Yahu" (to the exclusion of "Yahweh") for colonists from the Kingdom of Judah, be they orthodox or heterodox. Nor can they be northern Israelites or Samaritans, because then the consistent designation of YHWDY would be inexplicable. Finally, how could Israelites or Judeans use, as the Elephantine Jews do, the word ʾgwr (Sumero-Akkadian *ēkurru*) to designate God's temple in complete opposition to Hebrew (or for that matter, even Canaanite) cultic terminology?

The evidence points to the advent of the Elephantine Jews from an offshoot of Judah planted in Aram during the United Monarchy (prior to cultic centralization and prophetic reform) to secure the Hebrew Empire. II Chron. 8:2-6 tells us that Solomon planted many such colonies in his northern provinces. But is there any clue as to what specific Judean enclave might have found its way to Elephantine?

¹ A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923).

² *Ibid.*, 30:13.

³ Cowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-20. Similarly, settlers from the southern Kingdom of Judah could be expected to possess some documents pertaining to Hebrew history, since they had (*ibid.*, pp. 251-54) the Aramaic version of Darius' historical Behistun inscription.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30:29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30:18-19.

Driver's texts (6:4; 12:2, 3, 4, 5; frag. II A 17:2, 25:2) highlight the Cilicians among the foreigners in Egypt in the service of the Persian rulers. This suggests a reinterpretation of YHWDY in the Elephantine papyri; namely, that it might apply to the Zinjirli area (near Cilicia) which was called Y³DY⁶ in the native inscriptions with dialectic ³ for H; compare the Aramaic dialectal variants P³L = HP³L (the causative conjugation), ³N = HN, "if," ³DYN = HDYN, "this," etc. This northern "Judean" state (if not some comparable Judean enclave established in Syria under the United Monarchy) actually appears as YHWDH in II Kings 14:28 as I have noted in *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (Ventnor, N.J., 1953), page 209. In cuneiform transcription it is impossible to distinguish northern Judah from the familiar southern Judah; that is why "the Judean Azariah"⁷ is still associated by some with Zinjirli, by others with Jerusalem. However, his operations in North Syria point to his northern affinities and rule out his identification with the biblical Azariah, whose conquests (specified in II Chron. 26, where he is called by his other name, Uzziah) extended to the east, south, and west but not to the north.

The naming of the Judean enclave(s) after the homeland had a precedent, precisely in the area near Zinjirli. Egypt had established an "Egypt" near Cilicia to secure its northern frontier, so that in the Bible MŠRYM designates that enclave as well as the Nile Valley; similarly, in the

Assyrian annals, "Mušur" refers to the one as well as to the other.

Once we recognize the northern origin of the Jews of Elephantine, their linguistic problem disappears and their heterodoxy becomes explicable. We know from the Zinjirli inscriptions that the local kingdom became engulfed in the empire of Tiglathpileser III (745-727), and contemporaneously the language of the Zinjirli inscriptions became Aramaic. The kings of Zinjirli became loyal subjects of Tiglathpileser III and were deeply influenced by the culture of his realm. It was then that Aramaic became the official language of Zinjirli, which explains why the Jewish colonists at Elephantine brought with them a ready-made tradition of keeping records in Aramaic, which had achieved the status of a lingua franca during the reigns of the great Assyrian conquerors. Other cultural factors were transmitted by the Assyrians to their conquered satellites such as Zinjirli; e.g., the designation of "temple" by *ēkurru* > ³GWR³. On the other hand, the culture of northern Canaan left its effect on the Yahu worshipers of northern Judah. For example, the frequent title "servitor(?)" (of Yahu)⁸ is L³N; e.g., ³NNYH BR ³ZRYH L³N LYHW (Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 3:3; see p. 101 for the 17 varied references; and Cowley, *op. cit.*, 63:9, 12); L³N occurs also in Ugaritic in cultic contexts (49:I:20; 67:II:21) and in the personal name YL³N (80:I:8), which means something like "Servitor (of the gods)."

Also in the social sphere there are Ugaritic analogues. For instance, Kraeling texts Nos. 2 and 7 are marriage contracts that emphasize the permanence of the particular marriage.⁸ The formula (2:3) HY ³NTTY (:4) W³NH B³LH MN YWM³ ZNH W³D ³LM, "she is my wife and I am her husband from this day and unto eternity,"

⁶ There is a question as to whether this equals biblical YHWDY, "Judean," or YHWDH, "Judah." I favor the latter and interpret the final -Y as representing the suffix -ay: thus old *yahūday* would correspond to massoretic *yehūdā*, as *šāray* to *šārā* (i.e., as "Sarai" to "Sarah").

⁷ I.e., in the annals of Tiglathpileser III, around 740 B.C.; see E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2 (2d ed., 1931), 433. Note the presence of the name Azariah in the onomasticon of the Elephantine colony (the references are listed in Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 303, and Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 307).

⁸ Similarly Cowley, *op. cit.*, 15:4.

implies permanent marriage in contradistinction to temporary (or at least easily soluble) marriage. Cf. the distinction between Hebrew ʿBD ʿWLM (= Ugaritic ʿBD ʿLM), “permanent slave,” and the ʿBD ʿBRY who is to be freed in the Sabbatical Year. It is interesting to note that Ugaritic text No. 52 also implies a specifically permanent type of marriage when the wives of El are referred to as ATT IL WʿLMH, “the wives of El and his forever.” This distinction is well regulated in certain societies such as Shiite Iran, where *sigheh* or temporary marriage is still practiced.

To summarize: The Jews of Elephantine came from a Judean enclave in Aram, such as those established by Solomon to secure the Empire. Of the many such enclaves, we have good documentation for “Judean” Zinjirli. That this may be the specific point of origin of the Elephantine colony is supported (though not proved) by the prominence of Cilician personnel in the service of the Achaemenian government in Egypt which the Elephantine colony also served at the same time in the fifth century B.C.

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HOMER AND BIBLE: The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature

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HOMER AND BIBLE

The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature

CYRUS H. GORDON, Dropsie College

FOREWORD

As early as 1941, I noted that Ugaritic literature is of importance for its connections with Homeric epic (*The Living Past*, New York, 1941, p. 155). Meanwhile the relation between Ugarit and the Bible had become evident from the time the tablets began to be read in the early 'thirties. But it was not until about 1950 that I observed that many of the parallels were triple — Ugaritic, Hebrew and Greek — pointing to an East Mediterranean epic tradition, with roots deep in the second millennium, and underlying Homer and Bible. This tradition keeps reverberating in subsequent literature down to the present day because of the lasting impact of Greece and Israel.

If I say so little about the parallels in Greek historiography and drama, on the one hand, or in rabbinic literature, on the other, it is only because I want at this time to establish the foundations of the subject, rather than to delineate its superstructure. My neglect of the Latin evidence stems from the same cause: Roman culture is an offshoot of the Greek heritage. By the same token, I have resisted the temptation to dwell on postclassical European parallels.

This monograph is compact; perhaps too compact. The reader should refer to the sources cited in any paragraph that interests him. The documentation is adequate but not exhaustive; and many a paragraph in the pages that follow merits the treatment of a whole book. On reading my laconic manuscript I am reminded of the Chinese theological student who, when asked to describe the Book of Hosea, remarked only: "Text corrupt; also women."

For two years now, I have been conducting seminars on the

subject of this monograph and discussing the topic with a number of students and friends. Among those who have made constructive comments, I wish to thank Walther Buchholz, Joan K. Gordon, Charles Pfeiffer, Nahum Sarna, Harold Stigers, Elizabeth Thomas, Fred Young and Wilbur Wallis.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM IN BROAD OUTLINE

1. Seas may serve as either barriers or links between groups of mankind. Prior to 1492 the Atlantic separated the people in Europe from those in America. Now, however, it links them ever closer.

2. From the earliest historic times, the Mediterranean linked, rather than separated, the people on its various shores. This monograph deals with the East half of the Mediterranean because the setting in time is relatively early, and in keeping with the general movement of culture from east to west, it was only the East Mediterranean that left written records during the period in question. A glance at the map will show that the distances involved are not great. It is possible to sail from Asia Minor to Crete in short stages coastally and via islands including Rhodes. Moreover, Cyprus lies rather close to Ugarit on the mainland. Even the biggest distances that the East Mediterranean sailor had to cross are tiny compared with those spanned in small craft by Pacific islanders.

3. The existence of an East Mediterranean civilization was made possible by geographic factors.¹ Its hub was Crete, whose

¹ By the third millennium the westward movement of Sumero-Akkadian civilization brought it to the shores of the East Mediterranean, and Egyptian culture moved with the Nile into the same area. For people to amount to anything in history, they must be exposed to civilizing forces. But the mere exposure does not guarantee historic greatness. Of the numerous ethnic groups around the East Mediterranean, the Hebrews and Greeks made the most of the challenge and live on as powerful elements in Western Civilization. Others, like the Hittites, Hurrians and Amorites, played considerable roles and disappeared from the scene. Some, like the Moabites, enjoyed a success that was merely local and transitory. Others, like the Perizzites, are only a name. Countless others are not even that.

first cultural remains are prior to the classical Sumerian Era of Mesopotamia and to the Pyramid Age of Egypt in the third millennium. Minoan culture, like every known culture, was indebted to forerunners and outside influences.² But its distinctiveness is not inferior to that of Sumer or Old Kingdom Egypt.

4. While the third millennium witnessed the development of the cradles of civilization (notably Sumer, Egypt and Crete), the second millennium produced the international fusion of Near East cultures culminating in the Amarna Age (15th and 14th centuries, B. C.), when the Greeks and Hebrews made their debut on the stage of history.³

5. Between about 1750 and 1450, a syllabic script called Linear A⁴ was used in Crete. But around the middle of the fifteenth century it gave way to Linear B marking not only a change in the syllabary,⁵ but also a change in language. The language of Linear B is Greek; some scholars suggest that we call it the Achæan dialect of Greek. The decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris establishes the Greeks as an ethnic factor in the East Mediterranean by the Amarna Age.⁶

6. The Patriarchal Narratives in Genesis are the traditional origins of the Hebrew family. Until the actual personalities and events⁷ mentioned in those narratives can be factually linked with extrabiblical sources, the date of the Patriarchal Age will remain subject to disagreement. Meanwhile, two matters are clear: (1) The social institutions reflected in those narratives

² C. L. Woolley, *Spadework*, London, 1953, pp. 110-2, discusses interrelations between Crete and the mainland (notably Alalakh, in far north Canaan), stressing the contribution of the mainland to Crete.

³ For the Amarna date of the Hebrew Patriarchal narratives, see my *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, Ventnor, N. J., 1953, pp. 100 ff.

⁴ A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* I, 1921, pp. 612-48.

⁵ Linear B, however, derived many signs from Linear A; A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa* II, Oxford, 1952 (edited by J. L. Myres) lists 69 signs common to A and B (see pp. 6-23 and Table I).

⁶ The latest article (at the time of this writing) by M. Ventris is "King Nestor's Four-Handled Cups: Greek Inventories in Minoan Script," *Archæology* 7, 1954, pp. 15-21. The development of the subject is treated with full documentation by Sterling Dow, "Minoan Writing," *American Journal of Archaeology* 58, 1954, pp. 77-129.

⁷ The nine kings named in Gen. 14 are the most hopeful clues,

have their most intimate connections with the legal contracts from Nuzu, and (2) the actual content of those narratives reflects the same standard of what is worthy of saga, that we find in Ugaritic literature. It is worth noting that both the Nuzu and Ugaritic tablets are products of the Amarna Age, suggesting that the Patriarchal Narratives are rooted in the same general period.⁸

7. Since the two primary, pre-Roman elements of Western Civilization are the Greek and Hebrew, it follows that the dawn of Western Civilization is, in a sense, the combination of two branches of East Mediterranean culture that grew in the wake of the Amarna Age. It is herein that the historic significance of our subject lies. However, it is doubtful that the relationship between Greek and Hebrew literatures would have been clear without the evidence of other Near Eastern texts, especially those from Ugarit, which (more than any other) serve as the connecting link between Homer and the Bible.

8. The spirits pervading Greek and Hebrew literatures are quite different from each other. Indeed the normal difference between any two nations in an international complex can alter drastically the manifestations of their common heritage. The historic connections between Israel and Mesopotamia⁹ are established beyond question; but could any cultures be less similar than the Hebrew and Assyrian? No scholar denies the intimate relations between Ugarit and the Bible, and yet the atmospheres of the two are worlds apart. Nor must we reckon only with national differences, for personal differences can be enormous. Homer and Hesiod are the two leading names in Greek epic, but in spite of the same language and meter, it would be hard to conceive of two poems less alike than the *Iliad* and *Works and Days*. Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah are Hebrew prophets not

⁸ The most recent discussion is my "The Patriarchal Narratives," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13, 1954, pp. 56-59.

⁹ As examples we may note: (1) Genesis derives Abraham from Ur via Haran. (2) The Hebrew and Mesopotamian deluge stories are intimately related in detail. (3) Mesopotamian merchants introduced their law as the norm for writing contracts in Canaan. Thus, at Ugarit, the contracts are normally written in Babylonian.

separated so much in time and place; yet their divergent personalities have imparted radically different spirits to their respective books. Relationships, therefore, are not disproved by differences, any more than they are proved by accidental or sparse similarities.

9. By the time an international heritage filters through different national milieus and is then reshaped by individual authors, the various reflexes of that international heritage may be so transformed that the average observer will fail to see the common denominator. This has happened to Hebrew and Greek literatures, regarded by their devotees as "the miracle of Zion" or "the miracle of Athens" respectively; whereas actually the literatures (and for that matter the entire civilizations) of the Greeks and Hebrews are parallel structures built upon the same East Mediterranean foundation.

10. Evidence in historic studies should be as diversified as possible. This monograph is the philological counterpart of fully established archeological conclusions. The Minoan¹⁰ impact on Greece is so well known as to be banal. The Minoan evidence in Egypt and on the entire Syro-Palestinian coast is familiar to every East Mediterranean archeologist who has dealt with the comparative problems of the area. Moreover, the bearing of this (including the new material from Ugarit) on the Homeric problem has not escaped the attention of authors like H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950). Yet it is odd that even Lorimer uses only archeological material from Ugarit without a single reference to any Ugaritic epic passage. It stands to reason that, if Ugaritic artifacts have some bearing on Homeric epic, Ugaritic epic should have an even closer bearing thereon. Material should be compared primarily with like material: archeological with archeological, literary with literary. But this has not been done except for a scrap here and a scrap there.¹¹

¹⁰ E. g., R. Hamann, *Griechische Kunst*, Munich, 1949, pp. 35-56, where Minoan and Mycenaean art is the backdrop for the subsequent periods of Greek art.

¹¹ The best discussion of the pre-Ugaritological parallels is W. Baumgartner, "Israelitisch-griechische Sagenbeziehungen," *Schweiz. Archiv f. Volkskunde* 41, 1944, pp. 1-29.

11. Along with the diversity of evidence (linguistic, philological, artistic, archeological, sociological, etc.), it is necessary to establish contacts in time and place, if parallels are to stand as organic. In Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Cretans bearing Cretan gifts are depicted on murals. In the Twentieth Dynasty, Ramses III had to rescue Egypt by warding off an invasion of Mediterranean folk, including Minoanized Greeks such as the Philistines. Meanwhile, Ugarit had a Minoan colony which ties in with the Minoan art objects found there, and with the presence of a Caphtorian god of arts-and-crafts in the Ugaritic pantheon.¹² The distinctiveness of the Phoenicians, vis-à-vis the kindred Semites of the Syrian hinterland, observable in art and seaman-ship, must be due in large measure to the impact of East Mediterranean (notably Minoan) folk who reached Phoenicia by ship, during the second millennium. R. A. S. Macalister¹³ was right in pointing this out, along with the decisive Philistine influence in shaping the civilization of Biblical Palestine.¹⁴ In the Patriarchal Period, the Philistines are peaceful folk around Gerar and Beersheba. Later came fresh invasions of more definitely Greek and warlike Philistines (around the time of Ramses III, and centering about the Pentapolis), who subjugated the Hebrews from the period of the Judges until the victories of David. The rise of the Hebrews from obscurity and tribalism to nationhood and empire, was their response to the Philistine stimulus. The Philistines, who had migrated from the heart of the East Mediterranean, were the chief cultural influence brought to bear on Israel, during the latter's formative period. The leadership of the Achaeans in the Iliad hails from the Mycenaean centers of the Peloponnesus; and their allies include a sizable contingent from

¹² For the pre-Ugaritological evidence, see E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart and Berlin, II, 1, 1928, pp. 162–220. All the Ugaritic sources can be located quickly in the Glossary of my *Ugaritic Manual*, Rome, 1955.

¹³ *The Philistines: Their History and Civilization*, London, 1914.

¹⁴ What happened is reflected in the name "Palestine" = "Philistia." And yet we must repeat that cultural influences between Canaan and Crete were not one-way affairs. Thus Phoenician influence on Crete may be reflected in Il. 14:321–2 where Zeus speaks of "the daughter of far-famed Phoenix that bore me Minos,"

Crete itself. Accordingly the conclusions of this monograph would (even if we lacked the evidence at our disposal and presented in the following pages) have been a justifiable inference for the East Mediterranean in the wake of the Amarna Age.¹⁵

12. East Mediterranean literature can be expected in any island or coastal country in the entire area during the centuries in question. Its representatives are now available from Egypt (Late Egyptian Stories),¹⁶ Canaan (Ugarit¹⁷ and Hebrew), Anatolia (Hittite literature¹⁸ and historiography), and Greece (starting with Homer and Hesiod). It is at present impossible to make extensive use of the Linear B material because all of the texts therein are economic and administrative. But it is only a matter of time before Minoan literary texts will be discovered on clay tablets. The influence of Babylonian writing habits was too strong during the Amarna Age to have left no literary texts in the East Mediterranean. It took until 1929 to discover them in Canaan (at Ugarit). Meanwhile, let us not forget that only a fraction of the many cities of Crete¹⁹ have been excavated.

13. It will occur to some readers that Higher Criticism of the Bible and Homer should receive more attention than it gets in this study. However, it is well to remember that Higher Criticism is a legacy from a period before the age of archeological and epigraphical discovery. The impact of the age of discovery has not yet been adequately felt in philological circles, partly due to the deep roots of philological tradition, and partly due to the departmentalization that often segregates philologist from

¹⁵ This general date refers to the period depicted in early Greek and Hebrew literatures; and not to the later periods, when our documents were redacted in their present form. The Amarna Age antiquity of much Greek and Hebrew material is demonstrated by the Ugaritic parallels pointed out in the following pages.

¹⁶ See G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, Paris, 1949.

¹⁷ See my *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome, 1949.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Lesky, "Hethitische Texte und griechischer Mythos," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1950, no. 9, pp. 137-59.

¹⁹ Od. 19:174 refers to the 90 cities of Crete. However schematic this number may be, it is interesting as a parallel to the 90 cities captured by Baal (Ug. 51:VII:12).

archeologist. No one in his right mind will deny that compositions such as the Iliad or Genesis are what the word "composition" implies. Like all creations, they are not fashioned *ex nihilo*. A masterpiece such as the Iliad can only be the culmination of a long and rich tradition. Its author fell heir to a large repertoire of epic material, from which he could select, to which he could add, and which he could modify so as to create a finished masterpiece that remains unexcelled in world epic. To detach this episode or that document²⁰ and ascribe an early or a late date is an arbitrary procedure that will not enlighten us at a time when we can more profitably restudy the classics against the background of newly discovered sources.

14. The "P" stratum of the Pentateuch is generally ascribed to the period of the Second Temple (say, the Fifth Century, B. C.). However, newly discovered texts show that much of the material ascribed to P is very early, even pre-Mosaic.²¹ Accordingly, the distinguished and deviationist Higher Critic, Ezekiel Kaufmann, makes P the earliest instead of the latest stratum in the Pentateuch, or at least pre-D. The designation of attributing hypothetical dates to hypothetical strata, as "historical"²² is a misnomer that need not deceive us. Whether one builds a system on Wellhausen's "orthodox" Higher Criticism or on Kaufmann's "heretical" Higher Criticism, makes little difference methodologically. In this monograph there is no desire to con-

²⁰ W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey*, Oxford, 1930, carries on the tradition of T. W. Allen, *Homer: The Origin and the Transmission*, Oxford, 1924, in attacking the conventional Higher Criticism of Homer. What Woodhouse (p. 240) says about Homer's expressions holds *mutatis mutandis* for the content of Homer at other levels as well: "The words and phrases and turns of expression . . . have been used a thousand times yet with each repetition the poet hits the nail on the head, and his lines seem newly minted for just this place and occasion."

²¹ Cases in point are the elements of the flood story that go back to old Mesopotamian origins; e. g., the reeds (Hebrew *qānīm*, not *qinnīm*) in Gen. 6.14 telling of the construction of the ark (cf. *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, p. 38, n. 31).

²² O. Eissfeldt ("Recht und Grenze archäologischer Betrachtung des Alten Testaments," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 49, 1954, pp. 101-8), while defending "die historisch-kritische Wissenschaft" (p. 108), admits the need of revising it in view of the growing corpus of facts.

struct a system, but only to go where the facts in the sources lead us.

15. Colophons on the literary tablets from Ugarit date them in the reign of King Niqmad II, who paid tribute to the Hittite monarch Suppiluliuma, thus providing us with a *terminus ad quem* in the fourteenth century B. C. So, if there is a clear parallel of an organic character between Ugaritic literature, on the one hand, and Hebrew or Greek literatures, on the other, the element involved must be pre-Mosaic and pre-Homeric, and not as late as the conventional date ascribed to the Biblical or Homeric stratum by pre-1929 scholarship.²³ For example, H. T. Wade-Gery, (*The Poet of the Iliad*, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 32 ff.), committing himself to the "hypothesis" that Homer "was a considerable innovator" (p. 32), cites as an example of Homer's originality, Iliad 1:198 ff. (p. 41) about Athena's intervention in a quarrel, when Achilles draws his sword on Agamemnon. However, as we shall note below (§157), the scene is pre-Homeric and now attested in Ugarit.

16. The hypercritical approach to Homeric or Biblical problems persists among so many professional scholars that some authors find it worthwhile to combat it. There are many reputable Bible scholars who maintain that references to the Philistines in the Patriarchal Narratives are anachronistic. That the establishment of the Philistines (*qua* Caphtorians²⁴) in Palestine since pre-Patriarchal times is indicated by all the pertinent evidence²⁵ has still not eradicated the fallacious hypercritical view. Similarly V. Bérard devoted much of his career to authenticating the Phoenician contacts in the Homeric poems,²⁶ even though there was never any real reason to doubt the authenticity

²³ This refers not only to works written before the discovery of the Ugaritic tablets in 1929, but also to subsequent books that have not recognized the bearing of the tablets on the problem.

²⁴ "Philistine" overlaps and even interchanges with "Cretan" (Ezek. 25.16) or "Caphtorian" (Deut. 2.23; Amos 9.7; etc.).

²⁵ *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 108-9.

²⁶ See especially *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* I-II, Paris, 1927. Other books of Bérard that may interest the reader, include *La résurrection d'Homère: Le drame épique*, Paris, 1930; *L'Odyssée d'Homère*, Paris, 1931; and *Tables Odysseennes*, Paris, 1932 (with Greek-Semitic vocabulary).

of Phoenicia in the world of either the Iliad or Odyssey, no matter how early a date one might choose from all the dates ever proposed for either poem. And yet L. A. Stella has, not without good reason, deemed it necessary to demonstrate that the Phoenicians are attested in the second millennium at Ugarit, so that they cannot be considered anachronistic in Homer; see her article "Importanza degli scavi di Ras Shamra per il problema fenicio dei poemi omerici," *Archeologia Classica* 4, 1952, pp. 72-76.

17. The surest clue to the outside influence on any literature comes from the literature itself. If the reader wants a factual key to what the Homeric epics owe to the East Mediterranean, all he has to do is to scan the geographical names in an indexed edition of Homer. There he will find that Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, the whole coast of Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus and other islands are in the Homeric world. If one looks at the proper names in the Ugaritic tablets, he will find Caphtor (= Crete and nearby areas), Alashia (= Cyprus), Lebanon, Sidon, Tyre, Syria, Edom, the Hittites and Egypt among them. If one reads the Bible with regard for the foreign names, he will see that Ionia,²⁷ the Hittites, Crete,²⁸ Cyprus,²⁹ Philistia, Edom and Egypt are among them. Moreover, it is instructive to note in what contexts, periods and with what frequency such names occur. Egyptian references to the Mediterranean, especially around the Syro-Palestinian coast, abound in Egyptian records. Thus each literature tells us where to look for the interrelations in any given period and in what branch of cultural activity. A study of the Homeric, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, Egyptian, Minoan, Anatolian and other East Mediterranean onomastica will point to the same conclusions as the present study of the literary texts.

18. More evidence is bound to come up. The day may arrive when the combined bulk of Anatolian, Minoan, Ugaritic and Egyptian literary texts may rival that of Hebrew, if not of Greek. With more evidence we shall be able to check our results in

²⁷ Hebrew *Yāwān*.

²⁸ Called "Caphtor."

²⁹ Hebrew *Kittim* refers to the Cypriotes of Kition, if not of the whole island.

detail and refine our conclusions. But at any given time, we can only use what we actually possess. Nor will the day ever come when we shall be certain that no more evidence will come to light. The broad outlines of East Mediterranean literary developments are now clear. Moreover, the crucial evidence from Ugarit has not hitherto been brought to bear on this question which lies at the heart of the origins of Western Civilization. This alone calls for the exposition of the subject at this time.

19. Method comes out of the problem and its material. It was natural enough for the Homeric problem to be tackled in terms of fine-art, weapons, metals, etc. when archeological evidence from Troy, Mycenae, Knossos and other sites evoked a re-evaluation. This monograph deals with the bearing of new literary evidence on old literary classics. Some of the parallels are due to simple references to widespread institutions or materials. Others are more narrowly literary, being of a stylistic character. The mass of the evidence, however, is actual narrative content, reflecting what people in the East Mediterranean considered worthy of saga. That certain elements are taken from daily life, while others are fantastic, makes little difference for present purposes. That the wondrous use of the Greek aegis is exactly the same as the Hebrew "staff of God" (§126) may at first seem more impressive than the parallels concerning real life. But this should not be so upon deeper reflection. To clarify this, we may point out that personal beauty (§85) and sex scandal (§§86-92) occur in all societies and periods. Yet both phenomena occur *frequently* in the Hebrew historical books (Genesis through Kings) down through David's reign and *never* thereafter. What is worthy of saga transcends the unimaginative distinction between reality and fancy.

20. A distinguished classicist, in noting the economic character of the Linear B tablets, despaired of finding an "Ur-Ilias" in the Minoan sphere.³⁰ As I see it, however, the Ur-Ilias of Crete has already been found, albeit in Semitic dress. The Ugaritic Legend of Kret is of Cretan derivation as the name of the hero indicates. Like the Iliad, the story concerns a war waged so

³⁰ S. Dow, *American Journal of Archaeology* 58, 1954, pp. 77-129.

that a king might regain his rightful wife who is being withheld from him, in a distant city. This theme is found nowhere among known texts in any language prior to our East Mediterranean tablets of the Amarna Age. It is alien to the older extant literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. That it permeated the East Mediterranean is clear from the fact that it occurs in truncated form also in the Bible, which tells us that David won the Princess Michal as wife, but that she was taken away from him so that he had to win her later. David's career was intertwined with Philistine contacts. Hence in time and place, we expect his saga to bear the stamp of East Mediterranean tradition. Royal epic in the East Mediterranean tradition called for the theme of the king losing his bride and then winning her.³¹

21. The people of the East Mediterranean (with the exception of Egypt) tended to be split up into little districts or tribes. Israel has left a record of how it emerged from tribalism to nationhood, only to split again into two kingdoms upon the death of Solomon. But the aim of reuniting all the tribes remained the ideal of the prophets and political leaders of stature.³² The Greeks were not united before Alexander, and upon his death they split into a number of kingdoms. Leaders of nations like Israel and Greece had the problem of welding disparate elements into a unified whole. This characterized not only the two most important people of the East Mediterranean as seen from our vantage point (to wit, Israel and Greece)³³ but others as well. Indeed there could be no nation in the entire area (outside Egypt) without a vigorous and conscious process of ethnic integration.

22. The traditions of early Israel aim at establishing a feeling of kinship and common destiny of a group of ethnic elements idealized as The Twelve Tribes. To accomplish this, the latter are made the descendants of one and the same Patriarch. They

³¹ The romantic elements in the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana suggest that Indo-Europeans injected this mood into East Mediterranean epic.

³² This holds for the north (Hos. 2.2) as well as south; and for the pre-Exilic (Jer. 3.18; 33.7; 50.4), Exilic (Ezek. 37.15-22; 47.13) and post-Exilic (Zech. 8.13) prophets.

³³ Importance is here measured by effect on subsequent history.

are further bound by a common history in which wars by, and even among, the tribes are portrayed without condemning or embittering any of the tribes, but rather depicting them as kinsmen destined for nationhood together. Moreover, the narratives are calculated to excite interest in their warlike ancestors rather than to alienate tribe from tribe.³⁴ The culmination of Israel's heroic age (§90) is the Monarchy united and glorious under David. The Law, or Five Books of Moses, have for millennia been the core of Hebrew tradition, for while they do not tell of the Conquest and Davidic Monarchy, they establish the kinship of the tribes, their common religion and law, their emergence as a people in the Exodus, and their arrival at the Promised Land with the divine assurance of possessing it.³⁵ The use to which the Law was put appears in the account of the reign of Josiah (II Kings 22–23). The King wanted to reunite Israel and Judah. The discovery of the Law in 621 B. C. during his reign and his summoning of the people to Jerusalem for a seven day celebration of the Passover, were leading features of his program. The Passover (rather than the other pilgrimage festivals: Pentacost and Tabernacles) became the national festival par excellence because it celebrates the Exodus when all the tribes emerged from obscurity to nationhood. During Passover the entire Law could be read to the people. A Passover convocation was much like a Greek panegyris; the entire Pentateuch could be read at the one, much as the entire Iliad might be read at the other.³⁶ Since the 5,845 verses of the Law number but a fraction of the 16,673 lines of the Iliad, which was read *in toto* at convocations such as the Great Panathenaia in Athens, I cannot subscribe to the prevailing view that Josiah's Law book must have been only a part of Deuteronomy. Rather must it have been much

³⁴ Note how II Sam. 1 depicts interdynastic respect; the Judean David expresses admiration and love for the Benjaminite dynasty that he supplanted.

³⁵ Indeed the omission of subsequent history with its fatal divisions, would favor the reconciliation of Israel and Judah. In this regard, the position of the Samaritans (whose Canon is limited to the Pentateuch) had something in its favor.

³⁶ The Samaritans read from the Pentateuch before the sacrifice of the paschal lamb.

like our present Pentateuch, including certainly the Patriarchal narratives and the Exodus which are indispensable for fulfilling the main purpose of convocations such as Josiah's; namely, national union.

23. We are to view the Iliad in the same light. As a whole, it is a literary masterpiece; but its purpose was not art for art's sake. Nor are we to be deceived by its introduction into thinking that the *raison d'être* of that epic is the wrath of Achilles. The aim of the Iliad is to provide the far-flung members of the Greek people with an epic that would help weld them into a great nation. The ideal of the Iliad was not accomplished until Alexander's reign. But in the meantime the Iliad had paved the way for Alexander's achievement. If we examine the Iliad in this light, what do we find? First, it does not divide Greek from Greek. The Trojans and their allies are treated with as much decorum and honor as the Achaeans and their allies. Moreover, in the Catalogue of the Ships and in scattered descriptions of heroes (on both sides) with their genealogies, satisfaction is given to all the elements of the Hellenic world: in Greece, Asia Minor and the islands. Pilgrims from widely scattered areas, attending the festivals where the Iliad was read, could listen with pride to the glories of their own epic hero, no matter whether they were Ionian, Cretan, or Peloponnesian. The Iliad tells how once the Greek world had participated in the glorious and manly Trojan War; listening to the Iliad could only inspire the entire Greek people with heroic sentiments and the vision of nationhood.

24. Nor was it necessary for a national program to be aimed at an ethnic unity, such as the Greek or Hebrew. (Besides nations like Italy, France and Germany, there can exist also a Switzerland, whose varied elements are firmly united). The little realm of Ugarit was full of different ethnic groups: Hurrian, Hittite, Subarean, Cypriote, etc. There is a ritual text (no. 2) to be read aloud at public convocations for the purpose of uniting them all into the Ugaritic body politic.

25. Thus Israel, Greece and Ugarit had texts for the great problem in that part of the world: national union. The texts of each nation differ enormously from each other. Ugaritic text 2 is a ritual cementing the component ethnic elements of the realm

through its leaders. The Iliad extols the heroism of the far-flung Greek world to inculcate unity; and this is couched in matchless artistry. The Pentateuch is far more complex than either its little Ugaritic or majestic Greek counterpart. It is infinitely more many-sided than any other national epic of any age. But perhaps its most distinctive feature is its universal framework. Genesis leads up to the Patriarchs with the story of the Creation and the peoples of the world, showing how Israel fits into the broad scheme of things. The Bible and the Iliad are parallel responses to the same East Mediterranean stimulus that evoked literary instruments for shaping nations throughout the area. While it is true that Hebrew and Greek authors made the Bible and Iliad, it is also conversely true that the Bible and Iliad made the Hebrew and Greek nations.³⁷

26. The Odyssey too has a prehistory enshrined in the literature of the ancient Near East. It has not escaped the notice of orientalists that the Odyssey, insofar as it is the episodic wanderings of a hero, is anticipated by the Gilgamesh Epic. However, there are major differences between the two. Thus while the Odyssey unfolds on the sea and its shores, Gilgamesh's peregrinations are (with one exception) continental.³⁸ This is not to deny that the Gilgamesh Epic, which enjoyed enormous popularity in the ancient Near East and was widely translated into foreign languages including Hittite (which came into contact with Ionia), has had some ultimate effect on Homer's Odyssey.³⁹ But there is a much more intimate parallel: the Egyptian Odyssey of Wenamon in the eleventh century B. C.⁴⁰ Wenamon was sent

³⁷ It is instructive to note that the keen devotion of the modern Israelis to the Bible is nationalistic rather than religious.

³⁸ The continental wanderings of the Hebrew Patriarchs (to and from Mesopotamia, Canaan and Egypt) may be due in part to literary motifs requiring such peregrinations that terminate in homecoming. However, while the Gilgamesh Epic, Sinuhe, Shipwrecked Sailor, Wenamon and Odyssey deal with the homecoming of a wandering individual, the climax of the Patriarchal wanderings is the homecoming of a nation.

³⁹ Since we possess parts of the Gilgamesh Epic in Hittite translation, it is quite probable that the story reached the Greeks on the Ionian coast before the traditional date of the Trojan War.

⁴⁰ The most convenient reference book for many of the oriental compositions discussed in this monograph is J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern*

on a mission to Byblos. Like Odysseus, he traveled by ship on the East Mediterranean. En route, he had misadventures and escapades at Dor, just south of Haifa. After fulfilling his mission (and for that matter, even before fulfilling it), he wants to go home to Egypt. Pursued by enemies, he is forced to sail to Cyprus, where he seeks protection from the Island Queen. There the papyrus breaks off, and we have no more of the story, except the clear inference that he at last got home again. Wenamon and the Odyssey are both episodic wanderings of a guileful hero, from isle to isle and shore to shore in the East Mediterranean. Many an episode is a narrow escape from a tight squeeze. The unifying thread is the goal of coming home after long years of wandering.

27. The question arises as to whether the general character of Wenamon's story is a product of Egypt. There is actually every reason to answer in the affirmative. Late Egyptian literature (including Wenamon) had behind it the world's first secular literature; namely, the Middle Egyptian Stories. The most famous of the latter is the Romance of Sinuhe, according to which the hero Sinuhe, after many years of wandering and sojourning in Syria, at last reaches his goal of coming home again to Egypt. Thus Middle Kingdom Egypt already had the story of homecoming after long years of absence and wandering *on land*. But there is another Middle Egyptian story called the Shipwrecked Sailor, telling how an Egyptian was shipwrecked on a magic isle, and, only after harrowing experiences, is rescued and returns home laden with gifts by the huge serpent inhabiting the isle. The sea of that tale is the Red Sea. The wreck of Odysseus on wondrous isles is a parallel that has been noted by scholars.⁴¹ We could add further analogues in detail, such as Odysseus' coming home laden with the gifts of the Phaeacians, who dwelt on a wondrous isle. But the important consideration is that Middle Egyptian stories attest the motifs of episodic wandering (in Sinuhe) and of hazardous adventure by sea (in Shipwrecked Sailor) — both culminating in homecoming — which

Texts (Relating to the Old Testament), Princeton, 1950. See pp. 25–29 for J. Wilson's translation of Wenamon with bibliography for the sources.

⁴¹ Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, discusses such comparative studies.

were combined in Wenamon with a shift of scene to the East Mediterranean: the hub of international civilization from the Amarna Age on. The Odyssey is the Greek masterpiece of the same East Mediterranean theme going back to Egyptian origins.

28. The Odyssey has no momentous problem. It is a first-rate story; the interest is narrative, however high its dactylic hexameters rank in the annals of world poetry. In Western literature it is the first (and, in poetry, still the best) composition designed for entertainment; and in this it is eminently successful. No matter how much the Odyssey surpasses Egyptian entertainment literature, it owes its essential entertaining nature to its Egyptian forerunners with roots in extant Middle Egyptian stories. Thus, Occidental pleasure literature is a development, through the Odyssey, of a well-documented Egyptian contribution. Why it was Egypt that made this contribution is clear. The nations of the Near East had to struggle constantly with the urgent problem of nationhood; first, to create nations out of ethnic fragments by building a feeling of kinship, solidarity and the morale to fight for land; then, to hold on to what was won. The latter necessity never ended until the destruction of the nation. The one exception to this pattern in the area was Egypt, which by around 3000 B. C. had evolved a homogeneous civilization throughout Upper and Lower Egypt. Egypt had little to fear from the outside; the land was approachable only from the north and south extremities of the long Nile valley. Egyptian nationhood was a firm reality that needed no propaganda or epic. Egypt at times conquered foreign areas, but was not itself invaded except for the relatively brief Hyksos interlude, until the seventh century B. C. When Middle Egyptian entertainment literature was created, Egypt had never been invaded. Accordingly, Egypt was the one nation of Near East antiquity so released from the burden of nationalism that it could produce the light literature⁴² which reached Europe via the Odyssey.

29. We have seen (§§ 23, 25, 26) that the Iliad and Odyssey,

⁴² All nations have diverting tales in oral form. But the Egyptians went on to transform such tales into a written literature because of their earthly conception of the afterlife, which required good reading among the pleasures of the deceased. Our copies of Sinuhe, for example, come from burials.

each viewed as a whole, follow plots that were also in vogue along the Syrian and Egyptian shores of the Mediterranean. Much of the discussion in the ensuing chapters will deal with isolated incidents and details. That we are dealing with genetic relationships, rather than accidental parallels, follows from the fact that both as whole entities and, at the same time, in innumerable details, there is demonstrable agreement. No comparable array of parallels can be made between Homeric Epic and the pre-Amarna literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Our conclusions are precisely what is indicated by considerations of time, place and historic developments.

30. It cannot be stated too emphatically that our literary evidence is supported by every other kind of available evidence, without any contradiction. Because there is full agreement on the part of all competent archeologists, there is no point in rehashing long-known archeological evidence (though we shall indicate new archeological data from time to time below). Yet it is worth pointing out some linguistic evidence in the international vocabulary of the ancient East Mediterranean.

31. Homeric *dorp-* (Il. 19:208) "food, a meal," has no plausible Indo-Hittite etymology. It is identical with Egyptian *drp*, "to feed, offer food to." Since *drp* is attested in Old Egyptian of the third millennium,⁴³ it appears that it moved from Egypt toward Greece, via the Mediterranean.

32. Hebrew *m^hqērā(h)* (Gen. 49.5) has long been identified with Greek *makaira*, "sword." It is no wonder that the warlike Philistines taught the Hebrews such a military term.⁴⁴

33. Since the Philistines hailed from the Caphtorian seat of a great architectural tradition,⁴⁵ it was natural for them to intro-

⁴³ The form of the Pyramid Texts is *d:p*.

⁴⁴ The Philistines were more than just fighters; they had a technology that supplied their troops with armament and they pursued a policy that kept Israel disarmed and without the technology for making or maintaining weapons (I Sam. 13.19-23). It has long been agreed that the Hebrews borrowed the military term *qōba'*, "helmet," from the Philistines.

⁴⁵ This is abundantly evident in the actual buildings excavated at East Mediterranean sites of the second millennium B. C. in Canaan and Asia Minor. At Ugarit the architectural finds dovetail with the texts that depict the deity who erects temples as a native of Caphtor (§§141-2).

duce a word for "chamber"; to wit, Heb. *liškā(h)* (cf. Greek *leskê*, which has no Semitic etymology).⁴⁶

34. The technically superior Philistines apparently introduced new kinds of torches and lamps, to judge from the non-Semitic loanword *lappîd* in early Hebrew;⁴⁷ cf. Greek *lampades*. The name of Deborah's husband, Lappidoth, confirms the borrowing during the Heroic Age.

35. The Kret text records, as worthy of saga, the baking of large bread supplies to equip a large troop movement.⁴⁸ This explains the emphasis on the baking of *maššā(h)*, a non-Semitic word meaning "unleavened bread," in the account of the Exodus from Egypt. The related Greek *maza*, "barley cake," points to a loan into Hebrew via the Philistines, who may have introduced the Cretan custom as attested in the Cretan Epic of Kret. It is interesting to note that a military institution of the warlike Philistines has been transformed into a cultic phenomenon of Judaism.

36. Another non-Semitic Hebrew word of cultic importance is *mûm*, "blemish," which can hardly be dissociated from Greek *môm(os)*, "blame." Hebrew ritual purity required that sacrificial animals be "without blemish." This expression may reflect East Mediterranean values that transcended cultic usage, for in Homer *amymôn* "without blemish," is frequently applied to heroes and heroines.

37. The important field of Minoan loanwords in Egyptian and Northwest Semitic⁴⁹ is about to unfold because of the incipient decipherment of the Linear B tablets. The controls at our disposal from the Egyptian and Semitic ends are fortunately good. In brief, they are as follows: A cultural term that appears in Egyptian during the second millennium, but is absent in Old Egyptian,⁵⁰ merits investigation as a Minoan loan. The same

⁴⁶ As noted by E. Renan (see A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa* I, Oxford, 1909, p. 77, n. 3).

⁴⁷ As noted by Sayce (see Evans, *loc. cit.*).

⁴⁸ Krt:83 ff., 174 ff.

⁴⁹ This covers Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician and closely kindred dialects), Ugaritic and Syro-Aramaic.

⁵⁰ *I. e.*, of the Pyramid Age in the third millennium,

holds for non-Semitic words, absent in East⁵¹ and South⁵² Semitic, but appearing in Northwest Semitic upon contact with the Minoans in the second millennium. If one and the same word (such as *hdm* or *tk̄t* in §§38, 39) occurs in both Egyptian and Northwest Semitic under the conditions stated above, the Minoan derivation becomes highly probable, since continental African derivation is unlikely for Northwest Semitic, and continental Asiatic derivation is unlikely for Egyptian. Substantiation rests with the forthcoming evidence from Linear B. (But we must realize that Mediterranean vocabulary, even if attested in Linear B, may come from a host of origins.)

38. *H^adōm*, "footstool," is attested only in Northwest Semitic (Ugaritic, Hebrew, Syriac) and Egyptian after the impact of Minoan influence (§37). The Ugaritic god of craftsmanship fashions *hdm id* (51:I:35) "a footstool of Ida" = an Idaean or Cretan footstool. (Note II. 14:240 for Hephaistus as fashioner of thrones with footstools.) It is natural that the Minoans should leave lexical evidence of their exports; cf. the artistic creations called *kaftôrîm* in Hebrew, named after Caphtor. Ida, the high mountain in central Crete, was associated in antiquity with artistic workmanship.⁵³ The name "Ida" may be the clue to the source of major elements in the Hebrew creation account, which are not of Egyptian or Mesopotamian origin. Gen. 2.6 states that "'ēd rises out of the earth and waters all the surface of the ground." The traditional rendering of 'ēd as "mist" and the pan-Babylonian identification with Sumerian *id* "river" are unsatisfactory. Rivers do not rise; they descend. What rises from the earth to water the ground is a mountain carrying its streams to the surrounding countryside. Accordingly, it is worth considering that 'ēd means Ida, pointing to East Mediterranean elements in the Biblical Creation. (There is one objection, however, that requires clarification; namely, that the Greek form of Ida begins with long *î*-, whereas 'ēd reflects short *i*-. Finesse

⁵¹ Viz., Akkadian with its Babylonian and Assyrian dialects.

⁵² To wit, Arabic, South Arabic and Ethiopic.

⁵³ Pliny (Natural History 7:56, 197) reports that Hesiod stated that the Idaean Dactyls taught the smelting and tempering of iron in Crete (§141).

in the phonetics of East Mediterranean loans will take some time to establish.)

39. There is a kind of ship called *tkt* in Ugaritic and *skty* in Egyptian.⁵⁴ The appearance of this word in time and in place, as well as other circumstances as outlined in §37, point to Minoan origin. The meaning is appropriate for a loan introduced by the seafaring Minoans. Since some of the Linear B tablets concern ships, we may expect further data from Crete in the near future.

40. It is inevitable that the subject of our investigation will eventually put Greek and Hebrew culture in lights quite different from those to which we are accustomed. To take but one striking example: Minoan civilization has two traditional leaders. The greater is Minos, to whom the divine law was revealed on a mountain⁵⁵ to fix the pattern of society. The lesser was Daedalus, mastercraftsman of Minos. The obvious analogy of Moses with Minos has been noted long ago,⁵⁶ but scholars have failed to see the reflection of Daedalus in Bezalel, mastercraftsman of Moses (Ex. 36.1 — 38.22 ff.). In the artistic Minoan civilization, Daedalus was a necessity. In the unartistic Hebrew tradition, Bezalel might have been omitted.⁵⁷ But so strong was the Minoan standard that Hebrew tradition mirrors Daedalus by Bezalel, as well as Minos by Moses. Bezalel's Minoan inspiration is corroborated by the name of a group of his creations: the *kaftôrîm* (Ex. 37.17, 19, 20, 21, 22), whose connection with Caphtor is clear. The Mosaic structure of Hebrew tradition is not in the manner of Egypt or Mesopotamia, but of the East Mediterranean, whose hub was Crete.

⁵⁴ Ug. *t* was pronounced much like Eg. *s*. It is unfortunate that the problems of transliteration impose on the general reader difficulties that have no basis in reality. A more substantial problem is posed by the resemblance of *skty* and Old Kingdom *mskt*. But we must recognize that cultural interplay between Egypt and the Mediterranean, though accelerated in the second millennium, was already well under way in the third millennium.

⁵⁵ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2:61.

⁵⁶ E. g., J. Baikie, *The Sea-Kings of Crete*, London, 3rd. ed., 1920, p. 136.

⁵⁷ So dependent were the Hebrews in the material arts that they had to call in the Phoenicians to construct the Temple in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER II

SOCIETY

41. East Mediterranean society had a large class of nobles constituting a check on the power of the king. The epic, which shows little interest in the common man,⁵⁸ is addressed to, and sides with, the ruling class. When Thersites (Il. 2:225-42) upbraids King Agamemnon, the poet's sympathy is solidly with the King even though Thersites' tirade is not altogether unjustified. Odysseus accordingly takes Thersites to task and puts him in his place brutally. The same theme occurs in Israel's heroic age; David, in his hour of need, is reviled by Shimei, whom Joab (like Odysseus) would have handled roughly (II Sam. 16.5-9).

42. The divinity of kings (Od. 4:621, 689-92) was a concept that enhanced royal authority. Kret, son of El, was not only divine but even the son of the head of the pantheon,⁵⁹ exactly like Sarpedon son of Zeus (Il. 16:522). In Egypt, every Pharaoh was the god Horus incarnate, suckled at the breasts of Isis.⁶⁰ Also in Ugarit, the prince, destined to become king, is represented as suckled at the breasts of Asherah and Anath, the divine wet nurses.⁶¹ Royal sucklings, in the act of drinking milk from the nipples of a goddess, are depicted in an ivory panel of a royal bed found at Ugarit.⁶² Unlike the Egyptian representative of this theme (with only one suckling), the Ugaritic variant shows two royal sucklings in keeping with textual references to "the two who suck the breast."⁶³ (Are we to compare the institution of dual kingship such as flourished at Sparta?) "The breast of kings" in Isa. 60.16 shows that the concept of divine kingship was known in Israel too. Against this background, *diotrefês*

⁵⁸ Contrast the aristocratic atmosphere of the Old Testament with the prominence of common folk in the New Testament.

⁵⁹ Text 125:20-21.

⁶⁰ Often portrayed in Egyptian art.

⁶¹ Text 128:II:25-28.

⁶² The act is carved on an ivory panel of the royal Ugaritic bed published by Cl. Schaeffer, *Illustrated London News*, March 27, 1954, p. 489, fig. 6.

⁶³ Text 51:III:41, VI:56.

(Il. 2:445; 14:27; 17:685; etc.), frequently applied to kings, does not mean that they were nurtured by Zeus, but rather that they had been qualified for divine kingship by sucking the breasts of a goddess.

43. The deportment and condition of the king were regarded as affecting the whole realm. Od. 19:109-14 states that a good king fears the gods, is lord over many mighty men and upholds justice, with the result that the earth bears grain, the trees are laden with fruit, the flocks multiply, the sea yields fish and the people prosper. The Epic of Kret provides a parallel (though parallels to this theme are well nigh universal); when Kret sins, he becomes ill so that he cannot uphold justice (127:27-54), with the result that drought and famine befall the land (126:III: 12-16).

44. To what extent people were carried away by the fiction of divine kingship is hard to say. All we know is that in epic literature, death, or impending death, raised the problem in Kret's case as to whether El's son could die (125:20-23) and implied in Sarpedon's case that Zeus did not rescue his own son (Il. 16:521-2).

45. One of the features of a heroic age (whose general characteristic is instability combined with decentralization) is lability of leadership. The principle of charismatic (*i. e.*, inspired, non-hereditary) leadership (exemplified in the Book of Judges) is so strong that it enfeebles the incipient institution of kingship. Out of the period of the Judges, Hebrew kingship gradually evolved. Along the way we find the abortive kingship of Abimelech. Saul was more successful but even he did not succeed in implanting the concept of hereditary kingship. His own son Jonathan is represented as accepting the fact that David would become king of Israel. Similarly Telemachus (Od. 1:394-8, 400-4) admits that there are other kings of the Achaeans in Ithaca who may succeed Odysseus, but that in any case he, Telemachus, ought to inherit Odysseus' house and slaves. Though David took the kingship from the house of Saul, David nevertheless felt that Saul's estate should be held by Saul's heirs. Thus rivalry between royal houses was so normal that society had developed a pattern for the proper conduct of the new

house toward the old. In the Iliad (13:461; 20:179–86, 306) we see the rivalry between the houses of Priam and of Anchises for the kingship of Troy. Aeneas, son of Anchises, thus aspires to become king of Troy (Il. 20:178–83), and his claim is legitimized by a genealogy representing him as a member of another branch of Priam's family. Just as David's replacement of Saul was justified in theological terms as God's casting off Saul in favor of David, so too the Iliad (20:306–8) explains Aeneas' kingship for generations to come on the ground that Zeus had cast off as odious the race of Priam. This is essentially the doctrine of the divine selection of kings, and comes quite close to the Biblical idea of the Covenant, especially insofar as God promised Abraham and Jacob that kings for the generations to come would issue forth from their loins.⁶⁴

46. It was within the pale of good manners to ask people their genealogy, according to East Mediterranean epic standards. In fact to do so was simply a routine question (e. g., Od. 20:191–3). Eliezer asks Rebecca: "Whose daughter are you?" And she gives a straightforward answer to what was regarded as a natural question: "I am the daughter of Bethuel, son of Milcah, whom the latter bore to Nahor" (Gen. 24.23–24). The Greek parody of Homer, entitled "The Battle of the Frogs and Mice," is of interest in this connection, because it singles out (among other features of Homer that seemed grotesque to the later Greeks) the requesting and reciting of genealogy.⁶⁵ The epic emphasis on genealogy has a *raison d'être*; the epic concerns, and was addressed to, the aristocracy, to whom parentage is all important. When Saul participated in ecstatic behavior with a band of prophets, people could not understand how "the Son of Kish" could behave that way (I Sam. 10.11). Note that he is referred to patronymically. And, in the next verse, the question is asked: "Who is their father?" The question is rhetorical, for ecstatic prophets were not well-born. When an aristocrat like Saul, son of Kish, consorts with low-born people, the Hebrew saying was "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (vv. 11–12).

⁶⁴ Gen. 17.6, 35.11.

⁶⁵ In line 13 a frog inquires of a mouse: "Who are you, stranger? Whence come you to this shore? And who is the one that begot you?"

47. The nature of East Mediterranean epic is such that narrative goes hand in hand with genealogy. The two are so artistically and inextricably combined in Homer⁶⁶ that it would be fantastic to rip them asunder into different literary strata. But because in the Pentateuch the same two indispensable and inseparable epic elements of narrative and genealogy are not so closely intertwined, it is customary to attribute the genealogies to a different source (often to P, centuries later) from that of the accompanying narrative (often attributed to the earlier J and E). This separation of genealogy from narrative, however natural it may seem to the modern occidental reader, is untenable once we place the Epic of Israel in its East Mediterranean epic setting.

48. It stands to reason that in a society where noble birth is of great value, low birth and illegitimacy convey a high degree of notoriety, — whence narrative interest. Medon is singled out as the bastard son of godlike Oileus (Il. 13:694); and Medecaste, as a bastard daughter of Priam (Il. 13:171-3). The fact that Perez (ancestor of David!)⁶⁷ was born from a union that in any society would raise the eyebrows of ladies and gentlemen (Gen. 38), must be understood against the background of human interest so prized in the epic. Jephthah's being the son of a harlot (Judg. 11.1), far from condemning him, enhances the interest of his rise to leadership.

49. Similarly, precisely because age was respected for its wisdom, it was worthy of note when the young (albeit with appropriate apologies) counseled the old. Diomedes, speaking to his elders (Il. 14:110-2), apologizes to them saying: "Be in no wise vexed and wroth — because in years I am the youngest among you." The same type of rhetorical introduction (though with sarcastic overtones) begins Elihu's speech in Job 32.6 ff.: "I am young of days, and you are aged, therefore I was shy and feared to tell you my view. I said days should speak and multitude of years should teach wisdom. But" (The dramatic elements in Job, Song of Songs, and Ugaritic text 52, should

⁶⁶ *E. g.*, the meeting of Glaucus and Diomedes on the battle-field, with the purple passage of Glaucus's genealogy (Il. 6:119-236).

⁶⁷ Ruth 4.18-22.

be analyzed together with Greek drama, with reference to their relations with East Mediterranean epic).

50. The day's work began at dawn. In Gen. 32.25–32, there is the tale of Jacob's wrestling with the angel (actually "a deity"; N. B., v. 31), who insists on being released by Jacob at dawn (v. 27). The reason for this insistence (as J. K. Gordon called to my attention) is supplied by a frequent Homeric cliché (Il. 9:706–9; Od. 9:152 ff.; 12:142 ff.; etc.) showing that at dawn people must begin going about their work. In other words, the angel was free to wrestle only "on his own time"; but at dawn he had to commence his official duties.

51 Certain material features of daily life are common to both the Semitic and Greek branches of the epic. Odysseus' cloak of doubled fold (note *diplên* in Od. 19:226, cf. 241, 255) is reminiscent of the Ugaritic Daniel's cloak of double fold (*mizrtm*).⁶⁸ Also Telemachus' purple cloak (Od. 4:154) has Semitic parallels; e. g., Ugaritic (*tn*)⁶⁹ and Hebrew (*šānî* as in II Sam. 1.24) purple clothes for elegant wear. The source of the dye was Phoenician murex (from which the later Roman royal purple was made).

52. Old Near East legal literature deals with the institution permitting a man to raise his concubine's children of servile rank to the status of full freedom on a par with the children of his wives. Indeed the emergence of leaders from such lowliness is a theme that made for good story telling (§48). Abimelech, the lowest born of his father's offspring, rose to kingship.⁷⁰ Saul was of the small tribe of Benjamin, and yet God elevated him to the throne. That this theme (which could occur in real life) was worthy of saga is also reflected in the Odysseus's (Od. 14:199–203) concocting a yarn to the effect that he, though born of a concubine to a man with many sons of a full-fledged wife, had been elevated to full sonship.

53. A trusted servant could be adopted to sonship (alongside a real son) and win from his adoptive father a house and wife

⁶⁸ *Ugaritic Manual* §§8.41; 20.82.

⁶⁹ Text 145:16.

⁷⁰ Judg. 8.31; 9.6. Moreover, Gideon claims to be from the poorest clan in Manasseh and the youngest in his family (Judg. 6.15).

(Od. 21:213-6). It happened now and then in real life that a "wise slave would rule over a shameful son, and in the midst of brothers share the estate" (Prov. 17.2). Od. 14:61-66 makes it clear that a good master might give house, land and a good wife to a slave who had worked much for him and whose labor god had prospered. Eliezer, slave of Abraham, is manager of Abraham's household, and Nuzu parallels make it clear that he had been adopted by Abraham.⁷¹ Homeric woman had such a high status (§§72-79) that even a handmaid could be manager of the household until the noble bachelor son would find a noble bride (Od. 15:24-26).

54. Not uncommonly a man might go to his mother's family, where he would find a fosterhome and marry one of the girls there (Il. 11.221-8). This is exactly what is told of Jacob, who found a foster home with Laban (his mother's brother) and eventually married Laban's daughters.⁷²

55. The Nuzu tablets and the Patriarchal narratives in Genesis show that the son-in-law might be adopted into the bride's family.⁷³ This usage may be reflected also in Il. 9:141 ff., where Agamemnon agrees to make Achilles his son-in-law, honored along with Orestes.

56. It was not considered wise to let an only son, on whom the continuity of the line depended, risk the hazards of travel. Eurycleia advises Telemachus not to run the risks of travel since he is an only and beloved son (Od. 2:363-70). This provides an explanation of why Isaac, the only son of Sarah, is not allowed to travel to Paddan-Aram, but instead Eliezer is dispatched (Gen. 24).

57. East Mediterranean epic abounds (§58) in illustrations of what we might call the motif of the Curse of Cain, or of the man whose deeds force him to be a homeless wanderer over the face of the earth. The interesting thing is that he is the object of sympathy no matter how heinous his offense may be. Cain ad-

⁷¹ See my "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets," *Biblical Archaeologist* 3, 1940, pp. 1-12; the most recent discussion is *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 100 ff.

⁷² Gen. 29.16-28.

⁷³ See footnote 71 above.

mits his unforgivable guilt and yet God protects him from any that would slay him during his wanderings (Gen. 4:13-15). Thus banishment was considered a sufficient punishment for any crime, even fratricide.

58. Zeus gives some men a mixture of good and evil; but to others he apportions only misfortune so that they wander, mad or hungry, over the face of the earth unhonored by gods or men (Il. 24:529-33). Epeigeus, for example, slew a good man of his own kin, and so, like Cain, became a vagabond (Il. 16:570-4). Also Theoclymenus, by slaying a kinsman, became a wanderer in fear of the avenger's pursuit (Od. 15:272-8). Poseidon punished Odysseus not by killing him but by making him wander away from his native land (Od. 1:74-75). This is a repeated theme in Homer (cf. also Od. 14:379-81, etc.) wherein, often enough, the wanderer finds a foster home. Similarly, Moses killed an Egyptian and, fearing retribution, fled to Midian (Ex. 2.12 ff.), where he found hospitality in Jethro's house and was taken into the family by marrying Jethro's daughter, Zipporah. For a variant of this motif, note that Jacob, fleeing from Esau's wrath, takes refuge in Laban's house and cements relations by marrying Laban's daughters (§62).

59. The foregoing incidents (§§57-58) impinge on a basic facet of Near East society: hospitality. There was no written law, or fixed legislation, in such matters. The plural nouns in Od. 9:215 ("who knew not justices and laws") show that society was in practice regulated not by any rigid written code, but rather by the accumulation of traditions: a sort of common law. All good men offered hospitality whenever the occasion arose; note Od. 3 for Nestor's hospitality, and Od. 4 for Menelaus'. Odysseus anxiously wants to know whether the Phaeacians "love strangers and fear the gods" (Od. 6:121). Cf. also Od. 14:389 where kindness to the stranger stems from the fear of Zeus; and Od. 9:174-6 where people are either (1) cruel, wild and unjust or (2) they love strangers and fear the gods. Similarly, Abraham was apprehensive lest there were no "fear of (the) gods" in Gerar, with the result that the inhabitants of the place might slay him, a stranger (Gen. 20.11). Hospitality is thus the mark of godfearing men.

60. The earthly virtue of hospitality is carried over into the divine sphere. Just as Calypso welcomes Hermes, asking what his mission might be, and serving him food and drink, whereupon he delivers his message (Od. 5:87-115), so too does El ask Asherah why she came, whereupon he offers her food and drink, and finally she delivers her message (51:IV:31 ff.). The formalities of entertainment are part of the epic repertoire.

61. A good host would urge the guest to remain (Od. 11:339-40, 350-2), though the guest would refuse because of a task to be accomplished. Menelaus urges Telemachus to prolong his visit for eleven or twelve days, but Telemachus declines (Od. 4:587-99). Judg. 19.4-10 narrates how the Judean father-in-law kept urging his Levite son-in-law to remain day after day as his guest until the latter tore himself away to return home. Gen. 24.56 tells how Eliezer resisted his hosts' urgings and departed, home-ward bound.

62. A romantic touch is often injected into the motif of hospitality. Od. 6:110 ff. relates how Odysseus is greeted by maidens in a strange land; and the chief maiden brings him to her father's house with marriage in mind. Moses similarly encounters Jethro's daughters in Midian, and eventually marries one of them (Ex. 2.15-21). Cf. also Jacob's meeting Rachel, eventually to marry her; and Eliezer's meeting Rebecca, though he secured her in marriage not for himself but for Isaac. See §58.

63. East Mediterranean epic often singles out the detail that the male host bids his wife to prepare a meal for the guest. Menelaus bids Helen (and her handmaids) to make ready a meal for Telemachus (Od. 15:92-94); Ugaritic Daniel bids his wife Dantay to do the same for Kothar-and-Hasis (2 Aqht: V:16-25); and Kret bids Hurray prepare a feast for the grandees (128:IV:2-28). It is in this framework that we are to place Abraham's instructions to Sarah upon the arrival of his divine guests: "And Abraham hastened to the tent, unto Sarah and said, 'Rush three seah-measures of fine flour; knead and prepare cakes!' " (Gen. 18.6).

64. Women frequently performed services for the comfort of the guests. When Odysseus is disguised as a stranger, Helen bathes and anoints him (Od. 4:252). Eurycleia washes Odysseus'

feet and anoints him with oil (Od. 19:343–507).⁷⁴ In Od. 17:88–90, the maids bathe, anoint and dress the guests. In Od. 6:209–10 the girls are ordered to bathe the stranger; actually they give him a cloak and oil, and bid him bathe. He, while accepting their contributions, asks them to stand away so as to spare his shame. Afterwards come the refreshments (:214–50). In general, Homeric hospitality — with its many elements such as pouring water on the stranger's hands, urging him to stay longer, etc. (Od. 3 provides good examples) — is basically the same in the Near East down to the present day, especially among the Bedouin but also among other elements of the population.

65. From the earliest times attested in Near East epic, the parting gift to the stranger homeward bound, is emphasized. Utnapishtim and his wife see to it that Gilgamesh does not go home empty handed, but bearing gifts including the precious elixir of youth (Gilgamesh Epic 11:240–70). The gift was indeed the due of strangers (Od. 9:267–8; cf. 10:17–24), especially if they were homeward bound (Od. 10:66). The host owed recompense to the guest who enriched him with grace of words and a heart of wisdom (Od. 11:367).⁷⁵ Menelaus and Helen gave gifts, as well as wished a safe return, to Telemachus (Od. 15:51–53, 75–76, 82–85, 99–132). Even a poor swineherd owes a gift (be it ever so small) to a visiting beggar (Od. 14:57–59). Penelope tells the incognito Odysseus that she would indeed give to him (apparently a stranger and a guest) such a gift that men would call him blessed (Od. 19:309–11). This explains the range of meaning of Hebrew *b'rākā(h)*, literally “blessing” but in certain contexts (e. g., Judg. 1.15) “gift.”

66. It is clear from the preceding paragraph (cf. also Od. 8:387) that showering gifts on departing guests was a feature to which East Mediterranean people attached great weight. (This is still true in the Near East, where *baḥšīš*⁷⁶ is indispensable in

⁷⁴ Cf. Luke 7:37–46 for the persistence of these customs into later Hellenistic times.

⁷⁵ In a world without newspapers (to say nothing of radio and television), the stranger is the chief source of news too.

⁷⁶ It is difficult to translate this word because of its range of meaning, from the most innocent and legitimate gift to the most sinister of bribes.

nearly all human relations.) It is an honor to the giver, who shows thereby his generosity, and an honor to the receiver "blessed" (§65) therewith. Od. 11:355-61 shows that the gifts enhance the guest's honor when he returns home. This puts the gifts showered by the Egyptians upon the Hebrews on the eve of the Exodus (3.21-22; 12.35-36) in a new light. The departure of the Hebrews, to be honorable, had to have the bestowal of lavish gifts. Departure without them would have been shameful according to East Mediterranean values. That this feature had long enjoyed favored status in Egyptian literature is illustrated in the Shipwrecked Sailor, in which the fabulous serpent showered gifts upon the Sailor so that his homecoming was honorable. It is interesting to note that Odysseus (Od. 14:285-6) says he got wealthy from gifts given to him in Egypt.

67. Inasmuch as hospitality was the cornerstone of decent society and of godfearing men, breaches in hospitality made for good storytelling on the principle that "man bites dog" is more newsworthy than "dog bites man." Antinous rebukes Eumaeus for bringing in a beggar, thus: "Have we not enough vagabonds — that you bid this fellow too?" (Od. 17:375-9). This situation and turn of the phrase remind one of the Philistine King Achish, who when seeing the stranger David acting insane, says to his courtiers: "Behold, you see a man raving. Why do you bring him to me? Do I lack crazy folk that you must bring this to rave on me? Must this come to my house?" (I Sam. 21.15-16). Vagabonds, even crazy ones, were entitled to hospitality, but in too great numbers they could become a burden. Antinous and Achish might possibly have been less hospitable than they should; but men in their position might also have had a house or palace so full of strangers that they could not take on any more.

68. Wicked men could abuse hospitality as an occasion for perpetrating treachery. Aegisthus invited Agamemnon to a feast and slew him (Od. 11:409-11). Conversely, the guest Ishmael murdered his host Gedaliah at a feast (Jer. 41.1-2). These two illustrations of violating the guest-host relationship are given as reprehensible. But this is not always the case. Jael slew Sisera, whom she had received as a guest, but her deed is given as

heroic (Judg. 5.6, 24-27). However much we sympathize with Odysseus against the wooers, there is something less than universal virtue in the way he closed the door on them to prevent their escape, while using deception to get the lethal bow for massacring them (Od. 21:234-41, 381-7). That his deeds were considered criminal even by his own community is plain enough from Od. 24:426-37. And yet the public took unmitigated delight in the story. A re-examination of Jehu's purge shows striking analogies. Jehu invited the Baalists to a sacrificial feast (II Kings 10.19) with intent to slay those who accepted his treacherous invitation. He prevented their escape by posting armed guards with orders to kill (v. 24). Then he had the whole multitude slain in cold blood (v. 25). To the reader of Kings, the story is presented as a heroic accomplishment. That it was nevertheless a crime according to Israelite morality is clear from Hos. 1.4; cf. *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 209-10.

69. Deception has a reputable place in the *mores* of the epic (in sharp contrast to the ethics of an Amos or Socrates). The great goddess Anath herself had a reputation that evoked from the Ugaritic hero Aqhat the taunt that she was a cheat and liar (2 Aqht:VI:34-35). The goddess Athena and her mortal favorite Odysseus were the more devoted to each other because of their guileful characters. The Patriarchal heroes are so guileful that uninitiated readers, unaware of the epic background and standards, are often shocked by Jacob's deceiving Isaac, Esau and Laban.⁷⁷

70. It is not my intention to dwell on attenuated parallels which call for the exercise of highly refined acumen. The reason for reducing such parallels to a minimum at this time is not that they are not worthwhile, but only that at this stage we do better to stress the numerous clear parallels. First things come first. Yet as an illustration of the distorted (but in my opinion probable) parallel, I call the reader's attention to the following observation of J. K. Gordon: Od. 9:413-65 tells how the wily Odysseus deceived the blind Polyphemus by using a fleece; with which we may compare the wily Rachel's and Jacob's deception

⁷⁷ See *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 114 ff.

of the blind Isaac by a fleece (Gen. 27). The distortion is apparent in that, while the fleece of the Odyssey is on a living animal, that of Genesis is worn by Jacob.⁷⁸

71. Fratriarchal elements are well known in Elamite, Hurrian, Hittite, Ugaritic and Hebrew society; see my "Fratriarchy in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 54, 1935, pp. 223-31. When Circe is first called the "sister of Aeetes" (Od. 10:137), and only thereafter follow the names of their father and mother, we are dealing with fratronymy, such as "sister of Lotan, Timna" (Gen. 36.22) and "sister of Tubal-cain, Naamah" (Gen. 4.22). The test passage for differentiating "fratriarchy" (Heb. *rôš*) from "firstborn" (Heb. *b'kôr*) is I Chron. 26.10, which tells us "Shimri was the fratriarch, though not the firstborn, for his father appointed him fratriarch."

72. The prominence of woman in a society full of fratriarchy, inevitably produced phenomena that we may well call "sororarchy." In I Chron. 7.18, *'hôtô hammôleket*, "his sororarch" (literally, "his ruling sister") shows that the institution was recognized and could be expressed terminologically. When Octavia, daughter of Kret, is elevated in rank over her seven older brothers (128:III:16), she becomes the sororarch of her siblings. It is against the social background reflected in epic literature, that we are to reconsider the sociology of the Book of Job. Job's daughters, as well as sons, are his heirs (Job 42.15). Special prominence is given to his daughters, who are named (Job 42.14), though his sons are not. Cf. §76.

73. The high status of East Mediterranean woman is especially noticeable in Crete, where women are repeatedly depicted as equal partners of men in all sorts of activities, including the dangerous sport of bull-grappling.⁷⁹ Od. 11 (note especially

⁷⁸ The link is supplied by a Moroccan folktale of a hero who escapes from a one-eyed foe, by blinding him and then wearing a fleece to evade him; cf. G. Germain, *Genèse de l'Odyssée*, Paris, 1954, pp. 58 ff. The distribution (Greek, Hebrew, Berber) confirms the Mediterranean character of the theme.

⁷⁹ Bullfighting probably reached Spain at an early date as a result of the diffusion of Minoan culture. That the sport took on a new character in Spain is only natural. Each nation transforms its cultural heritage. Bullfighting in southern France, though derived from the same Minoan source, is different

lines: 328-9, 385-6) shows a high proportion of distinguished women's departed spirits interviewed by Odysseus; moreover, they precede the men's spirits.

74. The "wise woman" appears in Homer; e. g., wise Penelope (Od. 14:373) and wise Aegialeia (Il. 5:412). This is not a coinage of the poet, but a widespread concept. The Hebrew "wise woman" was a highly valued member of society, whose services were required in the highest circles. The Wise Woman of Tekoa (II Sam. 14.2 ff.) was sought out for a delicate mission in the royal court. A town could entrust its leadership to a wise woman at the most critical moment in the community's history (II Sam. 20.16 ff.).

75. In the epic, woman is often represented as endowed with religious insight. It was Helen, and not the men present, who interpreted an omen and prophesied (Od. 15:171-8). The natural psychic proclivities of woman go, often enough in real life, with religious expression, and woman's gift of prophecy is familiar. Pughat of Ugarit is intuitive; her extra-sensory perception is reflected in her epithet: "knowing the course of the stars." In the Bible, there are prophetesses including late ones, such as Huldah in the days of Josiah. But it is in the heroic age that prophetesses are prominent in Israel. Miriam, sister of Moses, is a prophetess in her own right (Ex. 15.20). Deborah was prophetess and ruler of her people.

76. The epic premium on daughters (§72) is reflected in the mythology. In Ugarit, Baal has three daughters who are named (Ṭly, Arsy, Pdry), while his seven (or climactically, eight) sons are not named. (Cf. the daughters of Zeus in Il. 9:508-12).⁸⁰

77. Antinous' motive in seeking the hand of Penelope, is through her to become king of Ithaca (Od. 22:52). The crown was thus transmissible through the widow of a king. Similar social customs are, to be sure, widespread. For other East Mediterranean examples, we may note Absalom's presumption to the

again from the Spanish variety. There is room for investigating the spread of Minoan civilization far afield (even beyond the Pillars of Hercules). See G. W. Elderkin, *Zagreus in Ancient Basque Religion*, Princeton University Store, 1952.

⁸⁰ For the epic evidence, see §72 above.

throne by appropriating David's concubines; the temerity in Abner's appropriation of Saul's concubine Rizpah; and in Adonijah's desire to wed David's handmaid Abishag.⁸¹

78. The deification of important women appears in the epic. Zeus made Ariadne deathless and ageless for Dionysus (Hesiod, *Theogony* 948-9). Sometimes the heroine is regarded as divine from the start, so that her mortal husband is favored by the gods for her sake. Od. 4:569 states that Menelaus enjoyed divine favor because he was married to Zeus' own daughter, Helen. Goddesses are more beautiful than mortal women.⁸² They are also immortal and ageless (Hesiod, *Theogony* 277, 305; Od. 5:218). Helen, daughter of Zeus, thus surpassed womankind in beauty; nor did age diminish her charms. Twenty years after Helen had deserted Menelaus (Il. 24:765-6), she was still such a paragon of loveliness that men from many isles and coasts were fighting far from home for her sake. To be sure, the number "twenty" is conventional (§182); cf. Jacob's twenty years' sojourn with Laban (Gen. 31.38) and Samson's rule over Israel for twenty years (Judg. 15.20); but "twenty years" always designates a very long period. Odysseus comes home twenty years after he had left Penelope and their baby son (Od. 2:175-6); but she is still so beautiful that her halls are full of wooers. This puts the story of Sarah in a new light. She was ninety years old (Gen. 17.17) and yet kings could not resist her feminine pulchritude; see Gen. 20.2 ff. for king Abimelech taking Sarah into his harem. The apparent contradiction between Sarah's age and sex-appeal can most easily be explained in the light of East Mediterranean epic tradition. In the Ur-Patriarchal narratives, Sarah was probably divine (perhaps "the daughter of El," even as Helen was "the daughter of Zeus") and, while monotheistic scruples have eliminated the outright statement from our *textus receptus*, her agelessness and beauty reflect the fiction of her divinity. This finds further support in Gen. 11.29: "Abram and Nahor took for themselves wives; the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife was

⁸¹ II Sam. 3.7; I Kings 2.13-25.

⁸² Od. 5:215-7 brings out the superior beauty of goddesses.

Milcah, daughter of Haran father of Milcah and father of Iscah." The aristocratic mood of the epic calls for genealogy. Milcah's paternity is given; Sarai's is conspicuously absent. Also Deborah, wife of Lappidoth, (Judg. 4.4) has no patronymic. It looks very much as if it were normal for the outstanding heroines such as Helen, Sarah and Deborah, to claim divine parentage. That the divine parentage of heroes occurs in Israelite saga is proved by the matronymic "Shamgar, son of Anath" (Judg. 5.6). Shamgar, like Achilles, is the son of a goddess; moreover, the warlike Anath is more appropriate than the gentler Thetis.

79. Woman in the epic was often equal or superior to man in battle. The Amazons (Il. 3:189) are not the only examples. Pughat of Ugarit avenged with the sword the death of her brother (1 Aqht: 190-224). Hebrew epic (Judg. 5) portrays Deborah as the leader of the hosts in battle, and Jael as the slayer of the foemen's general. The theme persists into the saga of the evil Abimelech, whose skull was fractured by a woman (Judg. 9.53). Woman in actual life can be (and doubtless often was in those times) violent physically. The Assyrian law code leaves no doubt as to the dangerous action of which women were capable.⁸³ But in Old Testament history, the portrayal of women as heroic or violent, on a par with strong and dangerous men, is limited to the heroic age.

80. Maidens might go strolling in search of a husband. Nausicaa is portrayed thus in Od. 6:1 ff., amongst her (:84) maids. It is possible that Gen. 34.1-2 reflects similar usages and should be translated: "And Dinah, daughter of Leah, whom the latter bore to Jacob, went out to be seen⁸⁴ among the daughters of the land, and Shechem saw her . . ." Shechem became enamored of Dinah and sought her hand in marriage.

81. Often in the epic, a well born bride is to be won, not by gifts and great bridal price, but by deeds of valor (Od. 14:211-2). Neleus refuses to give his daughter Pero to any except the man who accomplishes a specified act of bravery (Od. 11:287-90). Othryoneus would wed the princess Cassandra,

⁸³ Tablet A, section 8; paralleled in Deut. 25.11-12.

⁸⁴ The infinitive of the simple conjugation is neutral; and may be translated passively (instead of actively as is usually done).

daughter of Priam, without gifts but through mighty deeds of war (Il. 13:366). David won Michal not by paying a conventional bride price, but by slaying a hundred (var., two hundred) Philistines and bringing back their foreskins as the evidence (I Sam. 18.25-27; II Sam. 3.14). Also Othniel won Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, as his bride by capturing Kiriath-Sepher (Judg. 1.12-13).

82. Hand in hand with the bride price went the dowry, given by the bride's father to the groom. Kingly fathers were often in a position to present kingly dowries, such as one or more cities. Pharaoh gave his daughter who had married King Solomon, the city of Gezer as a dowry (I Kings 9.16). Agamemnon offered seven cities as his daughter's dowry (Il. 9:149-52).⁸⁵

83. Widows could, upon remarriage, deprive their existing children of their patrimony (Od. 15:21-23). This was common enough in the Semitic world to judge from the last wills and testaments of husbands who let their wives inherit on condition that the property would not go to a strange man. This is attested, for example, in the tablets from Ugarit and Nuzu.⁸⁶ The widow would be given power to show preference, in willing the property, toward any of her sons by her dead husband, but she could not pass on the estate to an outsider. This secured filial respect for her without risking the alienation of the property outside the deceased's family.

84. The question of marital irregularities must be considered in the light of the evolution of the epic. Long before the Homeric poems or Biblical books were composed in their present form, as large compositions, the bards of the East Mediterranean were going from banquet to banquet, entertaining lords and ladies with songs (Od. 13:8-9, 25-28). Such audiences, on such occasions, demanded amusement so that the songs had to be full of action and spice. Much of the action has to do with battle

⁸⁵ The motif of cities given as a dowry continues to reverberate into late oriental literature; e. g., the *Laughable Stories* of Bar Hebraeus (N. B. the tale of the owl that would give a dowry of ruined towns).

⁸⁶ I have discussed these texts in *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome, 1949, pp 126-7 and in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 43, 1936, pp. 162-3. The principle is enunciated in Hammurabi's Code §150.

(§§94–122). Much of the spice has to do with sexual irregularities (§§86–92).

85. Even so innocent a topic as personal beauty is limited to the epic age in the historic books of the Old Testament, from Genesis through Kings. Prior to Solomon, men and women are often singled out as handsome; e. g., Sarah (Gen. 12.11), Rachel (Gen. 29.17), Joseph (Gen. 39.6), David (I Sam. 16.12), Abigail (I Sam. 25.3), Bath-sheba (II Sam. 11.2), Absalom (II Sam. 14.25), two Tamars (II Sam. 13.1 and 14.27), etc. Solomon's reign marks the growth of annalistic sources and the drastic reduction of epic sources, in Hebrew historiography. David's reign shows a combination of both types of sources. Prior to David, the sources may well have been limited to oral tradition, mainly epical.

86. Spicy *Frauengeschichten*, like the topic of personal beauty, and for the same reason (§85), are common in the historic books from Genesis through Kings, down through David's reign (§§87–92), whereupon they come to an abrupt stop.

87. Scandal is the spice of epic; and it is spiciest when it concerns the great. The noble East Mediterranean audience was not interested in the scandals of riff-raff, but only of the aristocracy. It is against this background that Reuben's seduction of his father's concubine is to be understood. The firstborn of Jacob was no mean figure and his sin was not without social interest. It was used etiologically to explain his tribe's misfortunes, for the offense got him his father's curse instead of blessing.⁸⁷ It has not escaped the attention of scholars that Phoenix (II. 9:444–57) is a counterpart of Reuben in this respect. He too got a paternal curse instead of blessing for seducing his father's concubine. His motivation is interesting because the same or a similar one may have been expunged from the epic precursor of the Biblical account: Phoenix committed his sin not out of lust but in order to alienate the affections of the concubine from his father, who was neglecting Phoenix's mother because of infatuation with the concubine. Note that in Gen. 30.14–17, where Jacob's wives vie for his marital attentions, it is Reuben who is involved in securing preferential treatment for this mother.

⁸⁷ Gen. 35.22; 49.4.

88. The motif of recovering the stolen belle makes its first recorded appearance in East Mediterranean epic. While it is absent from the earlier literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, it is so popular in the East Mediterranean that we may consider it a virtually indispensable part of every kingly cycle (§20). In the *Iliad*, the abduction of Helen is the cause of the Trojan War. The end of the War brought Helen back to the arms of her rightful husband, King Menelaus. In Ugaritic, King Kret must wage war to win back his rightful wife, the Princess Hurray. King David, too, must get back his rightful wife, the Princess Michal.⁸⁸

89. The public could not get enough of this theme. Sarah was twice wrested from her husband, Abraham, by kings: by the Pharaoh and by Abimelech of Gerar. The same Philistine Abimelech or his subjects came close to taking Rebecca away from Isaac.⁸⁹ We should not assume, as is usually done, that these "repetitions" are due to bad editing. The public wanted to hear this motif again and again about the same as well as about different heroines; in the same as well as in different compositions. In the *Iliad*, not only is Helen taken from Menelaus, but also Briseis from Achilles. In the case of Briseis, she is restored untouched to her man (*Il.* 19:263), as is Sarah to Abraham (*Gen.* 20.3-4).

90. In a heroic age, characterized by incessant (though often petty) warfare, women must often have been carried off by raiding parties. *I Sam.* 30 describes how the Amalekites burned David's town of Ziklag, during David's absence, and made off with everything including the women (v. 2). David overtook the marauders and retrieved his two wives (v. 18). We have no outside sources for checking the historicity of this particular incident. But we may safely assume that such incidents were common enough in those days.

91. In the earlier literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the heroes show no romantic interest in their women. Sexual exploits and formal marriage occur, but nothing remotely akin to passionate devotion or attachment is recorded. Romantic marriage

⁸⁸ *II Sam.* 3.14.

⁸⁹ *Gen.* 12.15; 20.2; 26.8-10.

is, however, typical of East Mediterranean epic. In addition to the examples in §§88–90, we may note how Rebecca was fetched from afar for Isaac, and how Jacob went through numerous trials and chagrins to win the girl of his heart, Rachel. David's affair with Bathsheba is the most circumstantial account we have of a romance fraught with sinful lust. We need not go into the question of how factual the story is. That kings now and then appropriated the beautiful wives of their subjects is all too factual. That some of the kings of divided Israel and Judah engaged in romantic love (permitted and forbidden) is a foregone conclusion. But post-Solomonic historiography shows absolutely no interest in such matters. Romantic marriage in Israel is recorded only during the heroic age.

92. The wrath of Achilles (Il. 1:1) was caused by Agamemnon's seizing Achilles' beloved Briseis. This wrath is of basic importance in the drama of the Iliad. On account of it many brave Achaeans lost their lives. Homer may have developed this theme into the noblest story in all epic literature, but he did not invent the theme. It occurs also in a story of Samson, who, because his Philistine wife had been taken from him and given to another man, flew into a rage and wreaked havoc on the Philistines by burning their crops and orchards. Nor did his wrath subside until it had taken a heavy toll of Philistine lives (Judg. 15.1–8). We cannot help noticing that the wrath of Achilles and the wrath of Samson unfold in Caphtorian milieus; the one in the Mycenaean, the other in the Philistine, segment of Caphtorian culture.

CHAPTER III

WAR

93. It was believed that gods as well as men fought in war. Thus the battles of ancient Israel could be narrated in a composition entitled "The Book of the Wars of Yahwe" (Num. 21.14), for Yahwe participated in the battles of his people, just as the Greek pantheon took sides and participated in the Trojan War. Accordingly the prayer for peace could not be limited to

"goodwill among men"; instead Il. 18:107 reads "so may strife perish among gods and men." The Ugaritic Cycle of Baal and Anath is full of battle and brawls.

94. The bellicose Anath lays low her victims by hurling furniture at them ('nt:II:20-22, 36-37) including chairs, tables and footstools. The throwing of footstools in brawls is a recurrent feature in the Odyssey (17:230-2, 409-19, 462; 18:394).

95. Military commanders were grouped in threes (Od. 14:470-1). Il. 12:85-107 is particularly instructive in this regard for there we are told of five triads of officers leading the troops of Troy and her allies. One triad consists of Hector and Polydamus, with whom Kebriones serves as the "third" (:91, cf. 95). This use of "third" clarifies the Hebrew word *šālîš*, "officer," derived from the numeral *šālôš*, "3." Each East Mediterranean military contingent had three officers. In the case of the fifth triad, Sarpedon is called superior to his two associates (:101-4), just as Abishai the brother of Joab is famed as superior to his two colleagues in II Sam. 23.18-19 and I Chron. 11.20-21. (For the triads of David's heroic commanders see II Sam. 23 and I Chron. 11.)

96. As distinct from Mesopotamian annals, in which no man but the king gets any credit, East Mediterranean tradition glories in giving credit to the officers who contribute to the victory. In the Iliad glory is by no means restricted to King Agamemnon nor to any other individual; not even the peerless warrior Achilles. The repertoire of East Mediterranean epic includes "catalogues of the heroes" recounting their names and deeds (e. g., Il. 4:457 ff.; II Sam. 23; I Chron. 11).

97. This decentralization of the honors is appropriate to the ancient mode of battle, which was not so much a unified operation but rather an action fragmentized into numerous little combats between small teams or even between individuals. This type of warfare is depicted on battle scenes in Mesopotamian and Egyptian art. To be sure, even in early times, the troops might march out to battle in highly organized formation. The phalanx appears fully developed on the old Sumerian Stela of the Vultures; yet on ancient monuments we also see the combat fragmentized into separate frays between individuals. The

apparent contradiction is to be explained chronologically; the battle began in organized and unified array, but as the struggle developed, it split up into little fighting units. The early Egyptian order of battle seems to be decentralized, to judge from the slate palette of King Narmer, who ruled around 3000 B. C., when Upper and Lower Egypt were welded into united nationhood. The palette portrays the banners of the different contingents. This emphasis on decentralization may explain why the Egyptians nurtured a tradition which accorded glory in writing, not only to the Pharaoh but also to his officers who led the contingents. Thus some of the generals who fought under Thothmes III have left texts celebrating their bravery and triumphs. The habit of proclaiming the glory of officers appears in Egypt before the Hebrews and Greeks come on the historic scene. It is therefore not unlikely that Egypt contributed to the East Mediterranean the custom of celebrating the feats of heroes as well as of the king.

98. The East Mediterranean had an elite type of warrior for whom no place is made in modern warfare; to wit, ambidextrous troops. Such was Asteropaeus who "hurled with both spears at once, for he was one who could use both hands alike" (Il. 21: 162-3). This shows that the "right and left handed" archers and slingers of I Chron. 12.2 are respectively not two sets of soldiers, but one.⁹⁰

99. Long hair was associated with heroic strength. How widespread this notion was is hard to say. The Gilgamesh Epic states that the mighty Enkidu had long hair like a woman; and the glyptic art represents his hair in keeping with the texts. The hair of Gilgamesh, though not as long as Enkidu's, is at least long enough to be curled on both sides. Il. 20:39 associates the fighting strength of the god Phoebus with his unshorn locks. The warrior Euphorbus has hair like the Graces, with tresses braided with silver and gold (Il. 17:51-52). The Achaean warriors are often called the "longhaired" (Il. 2:323, 443; cf. also 4:261; etc.). This style is to be compared with the Keftiu (= Caphthorians/Cretans) as depicted in the tombs of Senmut

⁹⁰ *I. e.*, One category of ambidextrous archers, and one category of ambidextrous slingers.

and Rekhmare. Their hair, in Senmut's tomb, is arranged in long tails down their shoulders. In Rekhmare's tomb, their long hair hangs down to their waist, and some is twisted into knots and curled on top. It is interesting to note that precisely during the epic age of Israel, long hair is a feature of the heroic male. An issue is made of such hair in Ex. 32.25. It also figures in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5.2). The most famous example, however, is Samson, whose great strength depended on his long curls, seven in number (Judg. 16.19). (Samson's case suggests that the cultic institution of the Nazirite has East Mediterranean ramifications at least as concerns the prohibition against shaving the head.) Finally, Absalom's long hair figures prominently in his epic story, just before the close of the heroic age of Israel. The topic does not recur in the subsequent history of Israel and Judah.

100. The most prized arm of the fighting forces was the horse-drawn chariotry. The greatest heroes, such as Achilles and Hector, were chariot warriors. Each chariot was drawn by two horses, but an extra horse was part of the fully equipped chariot. Thus Achilles' two steeds were Xanthus and Balios, with Pedasus as the third (or as the Greek puts it *en de parèorièsin*; Il. 16:152). The Kret Epic also specifies the chariot equipped with three steeds (Krt:140, 285-6).

101. Morale in war was bolstered by claiming high purposes. The Cypria (no. 3) states that the aim of the Trojan War was to relieve the earth of oppression. History probably inherits some of its moralizing on war from a more heroic past. The battle of Gilgamesh and Enkidu against the draconic Humbaba is justified by the claim that it is for the purpose of wiping out evil from the land.

102. A psychological device for fanning the flame of morale was to proclaim a fast for victory (Il. 19:198-213; I Sam. 14.24).⁹¹

103. The Iliad repeatedly illustrates how the commanders had to build morale in the ranks by chiding, begging, coercing and exhorting. Demoralized troops would not even refrain from

⁹¹ As a field archeologist in the Near East, I found that normally peaceful Muslim laborers often become pugnacious during the arduous daytime fasts during Ramadan.

weeping. Il. 2:289-90 states that the Achaean troops wailed like children or widows for home. And Od. 10:410-5 narrates that when Odysseus returned to his ship, his comrades thronged about him weeping like calves that with constant lowing run about their mothers. Cf. Ugaritic 128:I:5-7 where we read of soldiers moaning for their mothers as a cow lows for her calf.

104. Feigning madness to evade military duty is as old as history, and is still with us. But, whereas it is now hardly applicable to heroes, it was so on occasion in East Mediterranean epic. According to the *Cypria*, Odysseus pretended to be insane to evade participation in the Trojan War. David's feigned madness in the presence of King Achish of Gath is possibly in the same tradition (I Sam. 21.11-16), at least if there was originally some connection with I Sam. 29 telling of David's exemption from serving with Achish in battle.⁹²

105. Scouting and spying were considered worthy of saga. Il. 10:204 ff. tells of sending out a spy. Od. 9:83-104 and 10:102 narrate how a pair of men would be sent to spy out the land, accompanied by a third man serving as a herald. Joshua sent spies ahead into Canaan; they came back with wondrous reports such as of giants in the land. The motif of spies coming back with an amazing tale was welcome in the epic repertoire; cf. also Od. 9:83-104 where Odysseus' spies report on the land of the lotus eaters.

106. The diplomatic machinery existed for averting war through negotiation. Not only do we find heralds to deliver messages, to make proposals for peace and to exploit speech before resorting to violence, in the Greece of Thucydides, but already in the world of Homer. Still earlier, the Epic of Kret abounds in evidence of heralds who in pairs offered peace terms and gifts so that the invader might be induced to return home and call off the war. Hector thinks of sharing the contents of Troy with the Achaeans so as to liquidate the war (Il. 22:117-8) through diplomacy instead of further fighting. Similarly, King Pbl, through his emissaries, offers Kret a number of lavish gifts including a "share of the place" if Kret will depart in peace.

⁹² In any case the parallel stands insofar as David's simulated insanity was to avoid danger.

107. Strife and feuds could be eliminated if the wronged party accepted blood money (Il. 9:632-6) or ransom. Refusal of ransom meant a fight to the death, and was therefore a favorite theme of the bards who had to make the story as exciting as possible. Od. 22:61-67 has Odysseus refusing any ransom and insisting on the death of the wooers. Judges 5.19 conveys the terror of a fight to a finish by stating that the kings of Canaan would accept no bribe of silver to call off the war. The Kret Epic (like the Iliad) has the hero refusing any settlement of gold, silver or precious possessions.

108. A blood bath could be circumvented by settling the issue through a fight between champions of each side; cf. Il. 3:59 ff. and 7:74-91. The challenge of a champion to single combat was accompanied by an exchange of oratory (Il. 7:225-43; etc.). The challenge of Goliath to fight a champion of Israel was met by David after a characteristic word-battle. The epic nature of the fight between David and Goliath is evident not only from its dramatic form but also from the Biblical evidence that the story was transferred to David from one of his officers.⁹³ Sometimes the champions were more than one in number for each side; thus in the strife between the armies of Joab and Abner, twenty-four champions fought, twelve to a side.⁹⁴

109. Even when wars were fought out by entire armies, the fighting is often represented in terms of individual combat with words exchanged between the contestants (Il. 5:274-89; etc.). The discourse between Patroclus and Hector, or between Achilles and Hector, are but two of many examples in the Iliad. The dialogue between Asahel and Abner in the heat of battle (II Sam. 2.20-22) is a Hebrew example.

110. A feature to enhance the interest of combat is the disguise of the hero, who, notwithstanding, meets his death in battle. Patroclus goes into the fray disguised in the armor of Achilles (Il. 16:40 ff.) but meets his death. While this feature does not occur in the heroic age of Israel, it is highlighted in the account of Ahab who, though disguised, meets his doom

⁹³ See *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 146-7.

⁹⁴ II Sam. 2.14-16.

(in fulfilment of a prophecy⁹⁵) during the battle with the Arameans at Ramoth-gilead. At this juncture we may observe that the epic tradition continues to enrich Hebrew historiography in a number of episodes preserved in the account of the kings of Judah and Israel. This is the case especially when the narratives in Kings are the most interesting. Naboth's vineyard, the wars of Ahab, the purge of Jehu, the doom of Athaliah, the speech of Rabshakeh; in short, the most memorable and stirring passages of I and II Kings represent historiography in the epic manner. The notable speeches in Herodotus and Thucydides hark back to the epic speeches such as abound in the Iliad; the same holds for the speech of Rabshakeh.

111. Some of the Homeric clichés (including those describing combat), re-echo an older Oriental parallelistic formula. For instance, "he struck him on the head, above (*hyper*) the ear" (Il. 15:433) reflects an original that is represented also in Ugaritic. Thus "he struck him twice on the head, yea thrice above ('l) the ear" (3 Aqht:33-34; cf. :22-23). The Greek incidentally clarifies an obscurity in the Ugaritic; 'l can mean "upon" as well as "above, over" but Greek *hyper* fixes its meaning in this formula as "above, over."

112. Il. 24:663-4 (cf. :778-87) shows that the epic repertoire included the fact that during a siege it became impossible for the defenders to fetch wood from the surrounding country. This necessitated the arranging of a truce between the Achaeans and Trojans for gathering wood and celebrating Hector's funerary rites. That the stoppage of wood gathering during a siege is not introduced into the Iliad as a Greek innovation is indicated by Krt:110-2, 212-5 where the same stoppage is singled out.

113. The epic places the ties of friendship above the conduct of war. Il. 6:212-36 shows that men who had antecedents uniting them in bonds of friendship, could, even though they were on opposite sides in the war, confirm by a pact their friendship and swear not to injure each other in the fray. (For the foe is always numerous enough for two friends on opposite sides to

⁹⁵ Prophets were common figures in military and political circles throughout Near East antiquity. They are attested in Homer, Bible, Mari tablets, Lachish ostraca, etc.

avoid one another.) Moreover, the pact is solemnized by exchanging armor. Similarly, the friendship of David and Jonathan transcends the war between their houses. A striking parallel to Homer is Jonathan's gift of his armor to David (I Sam. 18.4).

114. Achilles compares his comrade Patroclus with a girl (Il. 16:7 ff.), reminding us of Gilgamesh's love for Enkidu as for a woman (Gilg. Epic 2:31 ff.; 1:v:47, vi:1 ff.). That this (to us unmanly) attitude was firmly entrenched in Near East epic is shown by its presence in the Book of Jashar (excerpted in II Sam. 1.17 ff.) where David proclaims that Jonathan's love was sweeter to him than the love of women (v. 26).

115. When a hero was wounded, he might, like Glaucus, hide behind a wall, so that none of the enemy might see him smitten and boast over him (Il. 12:390-1). The last phrase is reminiscent of Saul's reason for committing suicide; death was better than letting the foe abuse him (I Sam. 31.4).

116. Side by side with a noble sentiment of charity and sportsmanship toward the foe (§§22-23, 175), the epic makes room for sarcastic gloating over his ruin. With Idomeneus' sarcasm toward his fallen enemy Othryoneus (Il. 13:374-82), compare the Hebrew bard's mockery of Sisera's mother who waits in vain for her dead son's return (Judg. 5.28-31).

117. The epic repertoire includes the fact that at nightfall the commanders could call off an unfinished battle (Il. 7:279-302; II Sam. 2.24-28).

118. For pathos, the poet had at his disposal the theme of retrieving the corpses of slain heroes for funerary rites (Il. 11:257; etc.). The recovery of Patroclus by the Achaeans, and of Hector by the Trojans, for appropriate funerals, are famous illustrations in the Iliad. Od. 5:307-10 preserves the tradition that Odysseus fought to recover the corpse of Achilles. Hebrew epic tells, in variant traditions, of the recovery of Saul and Jonathan for condign rites. I Chron. 10.9-11 relates how Saul's body and armor were taken to Philistia for display, and his head was impaled at Beth-Dagon, whence the men of Jabesh-gilead retrieved the bodies of Saul and his sons. The version in I Sam. 31:8-13 relates that the corpses of Saul and his sons were burned before their bones were buried. This burning is often emended

away by the critics, but that it is correct should have been realized precisely because it is out of keeping with normative Semitic burial customs.⁹⁶ It is typical of East Mediterranean usage in the heroic age (e. g., the burning of Patroclus or of Hector). Saul's death in battle during the Philistine period, took place at the right time and in the right locale and milieu for these striking Homeric parallels.

119. For the decapitation and the impaling of either the head or body of the vanquished on a city wall, see Il. 18:176-7 and I Sam. 31.9-10.

120. Also attested in both Greek and Hebrew epic is the mourning for slain heroes by the leading surviving hero (thus for Patroclus by Achilles in Il. 18:23-27 and for Saul and Jonathan by David in II Sam. 1.17 ff.) and by the women (Il. 19:287-300; II Sam. 1.24).

121. Innocent women and children were all too often the victims of brutality in time of war. The fear that an Achaean would dash Hector's little son from a wall (Il. 24:734-5) fits in with Hebrew references to the dashing of babies by the foe (II Kings 8.12; Isa. 13.16, 18; Hos. 10.14; Nah. 3.10). The killing of unborn children in Il. 6:55-60 is matched by the ripping open of pregnant women in II Kings 15.16; Hos. 14.1; Amos 1.13.

122. Nor were the prisoners of war always exempt from barbarous treatment. Achilles doomed twelve Trojan nobles to having their throats cut as sacrificial offerings before the pyre of Patroclus (Il. 18:336-7; 23:22-23, 175-7). The "evil" (Greek *kaka*) character of Achilles' deed (Il. 23:176) does not mean that the poet condemns it; as shown by Od. 9:316, "evil" (*kaka*) can refer to fully justified vengeance. The appeasing of Patroclus' spirit by a group-sacrifice of foemen, is to be compared with David's group-sacrifice of Saul's descendants to appease the wronged Gibeonites (II Sam. 21.6-9). Both acts of brutality hail from the same heroic age in the East Mediterranean; and each is quite out of keeping with the classical Hebrew and Greek *mores* of later times. That the two acts are organically related

⁹⁶ Editors or scribes might alter or omit a strange feature that did not seem correct; but they would not spoil a clear text by injecting incomprehensible data.

in the epic repertoire is confirmed by specific detail. Rizpah lovingly guarded the victims' corpses, not allowing "the fowl of heaven to light upon them by day" nor "the beast of the field by night" (II Sam. 21.10); even as Aphrodite (Il. 23:185-6) kept the dogs from Hector's corpse by night and day.

123. The inevitability of death haunts man and his literature. That man can surmount his fear of death and prefer to live bravely rather than long, is not the monopoly of any one race or school of literature. The noble mood of the *Iliad* goes with a standard of values that places fame higher than longevity (e. g., Il. 9:412-6). In this regard the *Iliad* is anticipated by the *Gilgamesh Epic* (4:vi:39; 7:iii: 33 ff.), which sets a higher premium on fame than on life.

CHAPTER IV

GODS, RELIGION AND RITUAL

124. It is in the sphere of religion that our Greek and Hebrew texts are worlds apart (with Ugarit occupying an intermediate position). The Greco-Hebrew coincidences are numerous in detail (§§126-60) but the general picture is totally different in Homer and Bible. In Greek epic there is no emphasis on cult and the gods are humanized to a degree that makes them seem ludicrous to anyone steeped in a lofty concept of divinity. Devious politics, domestic brawls, sexual lust and the whole gamut of human frailties are attributed to the pantheon in a way that entertained the ancient listener but did not make him a devotee of, or strengthen his adherence to, any cult. In spite of the anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms in the Old Testament, God is divine: distinct from, and above, man. Moreover, the narrative content of the Hebrew text is inseparably bound with the cult of Yahwe.

125. The gulf between Homeric and Biblical attitudes toward cult, results from the nature of their respective publics. Greek epic is addressed to the widely scattered Greek settlements, which may have known the same pantheon, but were quite varied as to cultic practice. To be effective in creating Greek nationhood, the *Iliad* could not take sides cultically. The Bible in

general, and the Pentateuch in particular, did not aim at so large a public. Hebrew Scripture is addressed to the Children of Israel, united in the cult of Yahwe. (Had there been a Canaanite national epic, designed to embrace all the people of Canaan, the pantheon of Šāfôn, with El at the head, would have been portrayed much as the Olympians of Homer, under Zeus's leadership. But insistence on Baal's cult would have alienated Israel, even as insistence on Yahwism would have alienated the Phoenicians.)

126. Divinely fashioned staffs that secure victory are common in East Mediterranean myth and saga. Ugaritic text 68 tells how Baal vanquished Yamm by two magic clubs fashioned by Kothar-and-Hasis (§§141-2). But Greek and Hebrew legend share a special variety of divine staff constituting a close link between the two literatures. As long as Moses held up "the staff of God," the Children of Israel prevailed over their enemies, the Amalekites, till victory was won (Ex. 17.9-13). Lowering the staff had to be avoided lest the foe prevail (v. 11). Similarly, Phoebus Apollo (Il. 15:318-22) controls the tide of victory by the way he holds the aegis. And in Od. 22:297, Athene holds up the aegis so that her favorites may slay their foes. In other words, Moses' "staff of God" (cf. §156) is simply the Hebrew equivalent of what the Greeks term the *aegis*; both have the identical function of wondrous scepters used to secure victory.

127. Another striking parallel that transcends normal experience is the immobilizing of the sun in the heavens until an important mission is fulfilled. Hera does not permit the sun to set until Patroclus' corpse has been recovered (Il. 18:239-42). And in Il. 2:412-8, men pray that the sun may not set till victory has been won. This motif appears also in the Book of Jashar (Josh. 10.13-14), when the sun was stopped in its course until Israel won its battle.⁹⁷

128. Job 26.7 states that God can suspend the earth on sheer nothingness. This probably means that God, to show his power, could remove the earth from the foundations on which

⁹⁷ Ugaritic *la šmm* (49:II:25; 51:VIII:22-23), "the heavens were fatigued, incapacitated" seems to refer to the stoppage of the sun, moon and stars.

it normally rests (Micah 6.2; etc.; Ug. 51:I:41) and hang it in space as Zeus threatens to do in Il. 8:26.

129. A nightmarish concept in the East Mediterranean was the thought of being swallowed alive into the underworld (Od. 12:21–22). Numbers 16 relates how the earth gaped and swallowed the wicked Korah, Datan and Abiram alive into Sheol (=Hades); cf. vv. 30–34. The Iliad (6:281–2; 8:150; cf. 17:416–7) also reflects the notion that the earth could gape and swallow reprehensible men.

130. The desire for immortality or eternal youth is almost universal. Both appear in the Gilgamesh Epic, where the hero in vain seeks immortality through deification; and though he finally obtains the magic plant that restores youth, he tragically loses it. East Mediterranean epic introduces a somewhat perverse version of this motif, with the result that it becomes less commonplace: a goddess offers immortality but the hero refuses it. Thus Calypso would make Odysseus deathless and ageless (Od. 23:336) but he refuses her offer, preferring to go home. Similarly, Anath offers eternal life to Aqhat in return for his bow, but he rejects her offer to his own hurt (2 Aqht:VI:26–30).

131. People have the gift of resolving contradictions without abandoning them. Gods are distinguished from men essentially through immortality. Yet Sarpedon, son of Zeus, did not escape death (see §44). As is often the case in such matters, our text of Homer injects a rational note, for Il. 24:258–9 states that Hector “*seemed* not the son of a mortal man, but of a god.” The Epic of Kret (125:22–23) has a prince, confused by his father’s pretensions to divinity, ask: “Can gods die? Yea, the scion of El not live?”

132. The epithet of Hades, “of the horses,” (Il. 11:445) suggests a connection with Ugaritic texts 121–124, where the Rephaim (associated with the shades of the dead) are riders of horse-drawn chariots. This element looks Indo-European, for the earlier populations of the Near East did not use the horse. Thus while horses appear in Ugaritic epics (Kret and Aqhat), they do not appear in the more conservative myths of Ugarit, in which gods ride on donkey-back only.

133. The epic permits, and even delights in, the embarrass-

ments to which a god may be subjected. Woes may be inflicted on gods by mortal men (Il. 5:382-404) and Jacob defeated a minor deity (Gen. 32.29).

134. Helius threatens Zeus that if the slaughter of his (Helius') sacred kine is not avenged, he will descend into Hades and shine among the dead (Od. 12:377-83); but Zeus wants the existing order preserved, with Helius shining on, among gods and men. Similarly, Ishtar threatens the head of the pantheon, her father Anu, as well as her mother Antum, that if she (Ishtar) is not allowed to take revenge on Gilgamesh, she will smash open the doors of the underworld and turn loose the dead to outnumber on earth the living (Gilgamesh Epic 6:80 ff.); cf. also the Descent of Ishtar:15-20. Anath threatens to make El's gray hair run with blood if he does not allow her to avenge herself on Aqhat (3 Aqht:rev. 11-12; cf. 'nt:V:32-33).

135. There is a cuneiform forerunner of Odysseus' threatening Circe with a sword so that she became terror stricken and offered him her love (Od. 10:321-35). In the Babylonian myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal, the goddess Ereshkigal, wishing to kill Nergal for an affront, summons him. He comes, but assuming the initiative, he seizes her by the hair and threatens to cut off her head, whereupon she proposes marriage. Nergal accepts, thus becoming the king of the underworld by marrying its queen.

136. Talking animals are common in fables but rare in the epic. The motif is not so preposterous as people unfamiliar with animals imagine. People who live with dogs, horses and other animals do commune with their beasts without words having to come from the beasts, nor for that matter from the people. In telling the story, however, it is necessary to transform the beasts' thoughts into words. To accept the transfer of human thoughts, while rejecting the transfer of animals' thoughts, into words, reflects not logic but unfamiliarity with animals. In the Late Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers, Bata understands the language of the cows (which the text renders in plain Egyptian). The speech of Achilles' horse Xanthus (Il. 19:408-17) closely parallels that of Balaam's ass (Num. 22.28-30). In both cases, the human master has been unfair to the beast, whereupon the

latter talks to its master "like a Dutch uncle." That Yahwe opened the mouth of the ass (Num. 22.28), as Hera gave speech to the horse (Il. 19:407), is a rationalizing touch, acknowledging that human speech is not natural for animals.

137. The theme of gods attending the wedding of a mortal appears in Il. 18:82-85; 24:62-63 (the marriage of Peleus) and in Ugaritic text 128:II (the marriage of Kret).

138. The highly polytheistic Near East had strong monotheistic undercurrents that would come to the fore from time to time in widely separated areas. Ikhnaton's solar monotheistic revolution is the most spectacular example; Yahwism is historically the most important.⁹⁸ Even in the crass polytheism of Homer, monotheistic notes are struck now and then. In Il. 21:103 (etc.), *theos* is not a "god" but the "God" (cf. Od. 14:444).

139. The assembly of the gods (Il. 8:2) where the deities confer is common throughout the Near East (and may be well nigh universal). In Ugarit the divine assembly is called *mpḥrt bn il* or *pḥr ilm* = Akkadian *puḥur ilāni*. The divine court also appears in Job 1.6 ff.; 2.1 ff. We are confronted with the projection of human governmental institutions into the divine sphere.

140. The notion that a god (Poseidon) built the wide and fair wall of Troy (Il. 21:446-7) is anticipated in the Gilgamesh Epic (1:1 ff. = 11:end), according to which the Seven Wise Gods built the walls of Uruk.

141. Any two pantheons, even though they be historically unrelated, may have structural or typological resemblances of no significance in a study like this monograph. Any two pantheons selected at random are likely to have a chief god with a chief wife, and to have one or more deities concerned with fertility. However, in the East Mediterranean, the impact of Crete was so strong artistically, that the god of arts and crafts in any pantheon of the area is likely to be essentially a reflex of a Cretan prototype. Ugarit represents its artisan god Kothar-and-Hasis as Caphtorian, in the Idaean tradition (§38). That the *Ida* of craftsmanship is not Anatolian (such as the *Ida* overlooking Troy) but Cretan, is indicated by Pliny (Natural History

⁹⁸ See *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13, 1954, pp. 56-59.

7:56, 197): . . . *Ferrum conflare et temperare Hesiodus in Creta eos (monstrasse) qui vocati sunt Dactyli Idaei*; i. e., Hesiod states that the Idaean Dactyls taught the smelting and tempering of iron in Crete. In any event, the Greek account of Hephaistus has much in common with the Ugaritic picture of Kothar-and-Hasis, in general and in detail.

142. Hephaistus' bellows (Il. 18:409, 412, 470) and tongs (:477) are matched by Kothar-and-Hasis' bellows and tongs (51:1:24-25). Hephaistus (Il. 1:606-8; 14:166-8) is the builder of palaces for the gods exactly like Kothar-and-Hasis (51:1-VI). Hephaistus' famed fire (Il. 2:426; 9:468; 23:33) is to be compared with Kothar-and-Hasis' stupendous fire which burns for a week, culminating in the completion of Baal's palace (51:VI:22-33).

143. Baal invited a number of deities to his housewarming including bovine gods and goddesses and jar gods and goddesses (51:VI:49-54). The concepts underlying this incident were common in the East Mediterranean. Od. 12:131 shows that the kine of Helios were immortal, which is tantamount to divine. And Il. 18:373-7 tells how Hephaistus made tripods with golden wheels, so that they enter automatically the gathering of the gods and thereafter go home again. Wheeled tripods have been found in Greece, and tripods were used at Ugarit. The fact that Hephaistus animated the tripods so that they could on their own initiative go to and from the assembly of the gods, shows that they were members of the pantheon to be compared with the jar gods and goddesses of the Ugaritic pantheon attending Baal's feast. Perhaps the best translation for those Ugaritic jar deities is "deified tripods."

144. Hephaistus' wondrous skill produced also golden effigies of girls that he animated to act alive and serve him (Il. 18:416-20). This too has a Ugaritic parallel, for El animates two effigies that become his wives (text 52).

145. The artisan god supplies the means of vanquishing a water deity in both Ugaritic and Homeric literature. Kothar-and-Hasis equips Baal with the weapons for defeating the sea god Yamm (text 68; cf. §126). Achilles is rescued from the river

that the gods called Xanthus, but men call Scamander,⁹⁹ by means of Hephaistus' weapon, fire (Il. 20:73-74; 21:331-60). For fire devouring the Great Deep, see also Amos 7.4.

146. The name Kothar-and-Hasis is of the "A-and-B" type, which is common among the names of deities in the Ugaritic pantheon (*Ugaritic Manual* §8.54). This type of name occurs also in Greek; e. g., the god *Kratos-Bia-te*, "Power-and-Force" (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* :12).

147. In §145 it was pointed out that the river had two names: Xanthus or Scamander. Optional names recur often enough in Homer; e. g., Paris=Alexander or Scamandrius=Ashtyanax (Il. 6:402-3).¹⁰⁰ In Ugarit, Baal=Hadd. In the Bible, Reuel=Jethro, Jacob=Israel, Solomon=Jedediah, etc. The origin of these double names need not be the same typologically in every instance. We are not endeavoring to reduce all the illustrations to a single formula. But we can assert with confidence that double names are so common that they cannot be regarded as criteria for detaching literary strata in accordance with a documentary hypothesis.

148. Athene (Il. 8:389), like Elijah (II Kings 2.11) is borne by a fiery chariot. Such analogues suggest that the Tales of the Prophets (as distinct from the annalistic sources of Kings) draw on epic tradition (without necessarily implying a poetic *Vorlage* of those Tales). This suggestion is supported by other evidence. In I Kings 18, Elijah brings down fire upon his altar by praying to God. This may be compared with Il. 23:192 telling that the pyre of Patroclus would not kindle; but then, in response to Achilles' prayer (:193-8, 205-11), Iris got the North and West wind gods to set the fire. I Chron. 21.26 deals with the same

⁹⁹ Double nomenclature, in the respective languages of men and of gods, appears in Sanskrit, Hittite, Greek and Icelandic literatures pointing to an Indo-European origin of the phenomenon in the East Mediterranean. For sample passages, see J. Friedrich, "Göttersprache und Menschengesprache im hethitischen Schrifttum," *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift Albert Debrunner*, 1954, pp. 135-9.

¹⁰⁰ Double naming in Homer is treated comprehensively by L. Ph. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante Verschijnselen bij Homerus*, Assen, 1951, pp. 109-29.

motif; David called to God who in response sent down fire to consume the sacrifice. As is often the case, Chronicles preserves old material not to be found in the parallel sections of Samuel and Kings. In this instance, the material must stem from older epic sources; it cannot be a late invention of the Chronicler, who lived in Achaemenian times, when the spirit of the East Mediterranean epic age was long past.

149. The divine promise that the hero's line will continue is a basic theme handled quite similarly in both Ugaritic epic and Patriarchal Narratives. In the Epics of Kret and Aqhat, the birth of the male heir is a major motif. Lest we misconstrue this as universal, it might be well to point out that from Genesis through Kings, the theme persists down to the birth of Samuel, never to recur in Old Testament history. It must have remained a frequent feature in real life, but it was no longer considered worthy of saga. It is absent from the long history of the United and Divided Monarchies.¹⁰¹

150. This theme is found among the ancient Greeks with the result that we must consider it East Mediterranean, rather than just Canaanite. In the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (:196-7), the goddess promises an eternal line to Anchises, and she names his son Aeneas because she "felt awful (*ainos*) grief" (:198-9). This is of a piece with the divine promise to Abram that he would become a nation (Gen. 12.2) through his progeny.

151. The etymologizing of names such as "Aeneas" (§150) is common among the Greeks. Note also Od. 1:62 where "Odysseus" is derived from *odyssomai*, "I grieve." This habit continued among Greek authors including the most sober historians. Such etymologizing (usually of an etiological character) permeates Hebrew tradition too; e. g., the etymology of "Noah" in Gen. 5.29; etc., etc.

152. In Ugarit, the sea god Yamm was an older deity from whom the more youthful Baal wrested dominion (text 68). In Od. 4:399-463 we read of how Menelaus overpowered Proteus, the old god of the sea. It is risky to strain the common elements in two stories with considerable differences: one being in the

¹⁰¹ See my article "The Patriarchal Age," *Journal of Bible and Religion* 21, 1953, pp. 238-43.

realm of divine mythology, the other in the epic repertoire of heroic men. Moreover, sea-yarns are common wherever men sail the seas. Yet it stands to reason that a culture whose unifying channel was a sea, would probably possess some notions of the sea spread over the general area. Striking is the parallel to the Greek "backward-flowing Ocean" (Hesiod, *Theogony*:776; Il. 18:399) in the Psalms (114.3): "The Sea looked and fled; the Jordan turned backwards." Be it noted that Ocean/Sea is often classified as, and stands parallel to, "river" in Greek (Il. 20:7) as well as Hebrew poetry. Yamm is "Ruler/Judge River" in Ugaritic. Canaanite Yamm (or Greek "Ocean") may be regarded as the King of Rivers. The judicial meaning of "judge" is also present; for court ordeals were often made in a river;¹⁰² cf. the Styx as "the dread river of oath" (Il. 2:755).

153. Because anthropopathism is so common, it is impossible to separate divine wrath from human wrath (§92) as an epic theme. Achilles' wrath (Il. 19:367) is a prelude to his victory; Patroclus' heart is full of wrath as he wages his heroic battle (Il. 16:585); Odysseus, wroth for his comrade's sake, fights furiously and well (Il. 4:501). In this, the divine matches the human; cf. Achilles' wrath against the Trojans (Il. 19:367) with Hera's wrath against the Trojans (Il. 18:367). Other examples of divine wrath are found in Il. 4:166-8; 5:178, 191; 15:72; *et passim*.

154. In the Song of the Sea, one of the untransformed fragments of Hebrew epic, Yahwe is called a "man of war" (Ex. 15.3), whose "wrath" (:7) consumes the enemy as fire burns stubble. This passage leaves no doubt that in Yahwe, the wrath of God and of the warrior, is one and the same. A book, many times the size of this monograph, could and should be written about the Bible theme of the wrath of God against the background of East Mediterranean epic.

155. The subsidence of anger is a favorite theme in East Mediterranean literature. Achilles' reconciliation with Agamemnon (Il. 19:35, 56-75) precedes the favorable turn in the war. Moreover the once wrathful Achilles relents in the presence of the suppliant Priam, to whom he grants the body of Hector.

¹⁰² E. g., in Hammurabi's Code, §§2, 132.

The Bible often represents God as at first wrathful but later relenting. An angry God destroys the world by flood, only to relent and promise the survivors that he will never again visit such a punishment on this imperfect world. This motif continues to re-echo throughout Scripture. A particularly fine example is the Book of Jonah, in which God, resolved on destroying Nineveh, countenances the contrition of the wicked city and forgivingly spares it. Note also the storm at sea, manifesting divine wrath, that also subsides (Jonah 1.15). Jonah's (2.4) being encompassed by "River" may reflect the same theme that appears in Achilles' fight with the River Xanthus. When Il. 24:8 tells of "the wars of men and the grievous waves," we are reminded of Jonah's (2.4) battle with the waves. As Jonah (2.2-10) prays for salvation from the personified Deep (v. 6), Odysseus prays to the river god to save him from Poseidon (Od. 5:445-54). These parallels between Jonah and Homer may seem too general to count for much. Accordingly, a more striking parallel is called for: Just as Jonah (4.6) rejoices over the plant that shaded him, so does Odysseus (Od. 5:474-487; N. B.: line 486) rejoice over the thorn bush and olive that protect him from the elements.

156. The epic fluidity between men and gods is familiar to any reader of Homer. But that this once characterized the early Hebraic traditions has been obscured by the monotheistic filter through which the *textus receptus* has passed. Yet enough tell-tale evidence has survived so that no doubt remains as to the general picture. The mating of deities with the daughters of men to sire the famous heroes of old (Gen. 6.4) is unequivocal. Nor can the assumption of Enoch (Gen. 5.24) imply anything less than apotheosis. Ex. 7.1 states that Yahwe upgraded Moses to a deity in preparation for the mission of Moses with Pharaoh.

157. That gods and men should have dealings with one another is universal. It is only when they are involved in a highly specific situation that such dealings are meaningful for our investigation. Such a situation appears in Homer; to wit, an enraged hero, about to use his sword indiscreetly, is withheld from committing violence by a pair of goddesses. In Il. 1:188 ff., Athene, sent by Hera, stops Achilles who was drawing his sword to kill Agamemnon. Achilles decides to obey the two of them

(:216); i. e., Hera and Athene. In much the same situation, Astarte and Anath grab the hands of Baal and prevent him from stabbing the emissaries of the sea-god Yamm (Ug. text 137:38 ff.).

158. Gods have it in their power to impart to mortals a glow of glory. For instance, Athene (Il. 5:1-8) kindled the head and shoulders of Diomedes with light. Cf. also Od. 18:354-5 for the divine glare from Odysseus' head (although the theme is turned into a jest). This motif (which has a counterpart in the artistic tradition of the halo) is reflected in the glorification of Moses, who came down from Mount Sinai with the skin of his face gleaming (Ex. 34:29, 30, 35).

159. Athene also glorifies her favorites by making them taller and comelier; thus Laertes (Od. 24:367-9), Penelope (Od. 18:192-6, 248-9) and Odysseus (Od. 6:227-31; 23:156-8). When I Sam. 10:23 states that Saul "was higher than all the people, from his shoulders and upwards" when he became king, it may be that we are dealing with a toned-down glorification that originally had Saul made taller on the occasion by divine grace.¹⁰³

160. The account of Moses is full of East Mediterranean elements (§40). We have already noted his deification in Ex. 7:1 (§156). The statements in Deut. 34:6, 7 that his grave is unknown and that he never lost his vigor may substitute an earlier (or, at least, another) version attributing to him outright apotheosis. The pseudepigraphical Assumption of Moses¹⁰⁴ may preserve the kernel of an old tradition, now expunged from our Biblical text in accordance with monotheistic scruples. Ex. 34:29, 30, 35 inform us that Moses' face beamed with the light of divine glorification when he descended from Mount Sinai. Cf. Il. 18:225-7, which tells that Athene glorified Achilles with fire blazing around his head. Moreover, just as Aaron and the Children of Israel were frightened upon seeing Moses in his glorified state (Ex. 34:30), Telemachus was frightened (Od. 16:178-85) upon seeing Odysseus glorified in appearance by Athene and therefore looking like a god.

¹⁰³ In which case, I Sam. 9:2 would be anticipatory.

¹⁰⁴ See R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913.

161. The people's complaints against Moses may prove to be an epic feature of a piece with the people's complaints against Agamemnon. Rebelliousness over which the leader must triumph seems to be one of the themes favored in the epic repertoire. In Ugaritic, Prince Yšb rebels against his father, King Kret; in the Bible, Absalom rebels against his father King David. This in no way calls into question the historicity of Absalom's revolt. We seek rather to explain the prominence given to it on the ground that the epic repertoire called for highlighting the rebellion of a prince against his kingly father.

CHAPTER V

STYLE AND IDIOM

162. Stylistically, many points of contact between Homer and Bible are bridged by Ugarit. The epic clichés provide clear illustrations; e. g., in Ugaritic, direct discourse is often introduced by "he lifted his voice and shouted." The same type of parallelistic cliché appears in Homeric "but Hector lifted his voice and cried aloud to the Trojans" (Il. 6:110) or "he lifted his voice and called in piercing cry to the Danaans" (Il. 11:275, 585). Cf. the Hebrew "and Job answered and said" (Job 12:1; 16:1; etc.), "and he lifted his parable and said" (Num. 23:18; 24:3), "and he lifted his voice and wept" (Gen. 29:11).¹⁰⁵

163. In relating the dispatch of messengers, it was customary to say that they not only heard or obeyed, but also that they did not disregard their orders. Thus the fulfilment of the command is stated first positively and then negatively, hand in hand with parallelistic form. The Ugaritic formula is "the messengers departed; they did not sit."¹⁰⁶ Cf. "he spoke, and the herald heard and did not disobey him" (Il. 4:198). For the negative manner, note also "he spoke and swift wind-footed Iris did not disobey him" (Il. 11:195; etc.).

¹⁰⁵ The stylistic relations between Ugaritic and Hebrew literatures are well illustrated by U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem, 1951, pp. 19-41; also 2nd. ed., 1953.

¹⁰⁶ E. g., Krt: 300-1.

164. A culture whose hub is the sea must necessarily have a common nautical heritage in its literature. Iris is described as speeding down into the depths of the sea like a plummet of lead (Il. 24:80). Cf. Ex. 15.10 which states that the Egyptian foemen "sank like lead into great waters." The figure arose from the use of lead plummets for sounding depths.

165. A detailed study of shifts from person to person in discourse, would be of interest. In Ex. 23.25 there is a shift from third to first person, tantamount to a change from narration to quotation. In Il. 16:5-6 the third person shifts in line 20 to second person; similarly in Il. 16:584.

166. The gulf between dactylic hexameter and Semitic parallelism is great. Ancient Ugaritic, Hebrew and other Semitic poetry has no regular meter in the sense that Greek epic possesses it. The essence of Semitic poetic form is parallelism, whereby stichoi balance each other in thought. Parallel members tend to approximate each other in length; for the use of ballast variants in the second stichos¹⁰⁷ to compensate for the omission of an element present in the first stichos, shows that bulk-balance was sought as a corollary of sense-balance. But bulk-balance is not the same as meter whereby the line can have only so many feet, which in turn must conform to a pattern with a narrow and exactly definable margin of variation.¹⁰⁸

167. Meter would not be objected to, in Semitic poetry; just as parallelism is not ruled out in Greek epic. But such meter (in Hebrew) and parallelism (in Greek) are then optional and occasional features; they are not essential. This means that just as it is unjustified to emend a Homeric line to make it parallelistic, it is unjustified to emend a Hebrew verse *metri causa*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed analysis of Ugaritic poetic structure, see *Ugaritic Manual* §13.99-161; for ballast variants, note §13.107.

¹⁰⁸ The attempts to establish meter for ancient Semitic poetry hinge on a vague definition of meter, or require arbitrary emendations of the texts (including cuneiform originals) to fit the hypothetical system. One of the strange points of view is that Semitic has "mixed meter." Obviously, a mixture which cannot be reduced to any formulation is quite the opposite of metric principle.

¹⁰⁹ A glance at the table of symbols and a study of the critical notes in the Kittel Hebrew Bible will show to what extent *metri causa* alterations are proposed by the leaders of textual criticism.

168. And yet, in spite of the gulf that divides Greek from Semitic poetic form, there are links resulting from a common heritage. The sharp break in the middle of each Hebrew or Ugaritic verse, is the inescapable consequence of parallelism. In dactylic hexameter, the cesura in the middle of the line has no function that seems formally necessary; and accordingly it may reflect the influence of parallelism in the pre-Homeric East Mediterranean.

169. All through the Near East (and doubtless also beyond it), persons may be said to be clothed in such and such a characteristic. Il. 9:372 speaks of one clothed in shamelessness. We need, for present purposes, call attention only to a specific characteristic treated in this fashion in both Homer and Bible; to wit, Od. 9:214 mentions one "clothed in great might"; similarly "if you do not clothe yourself in might" (Il. 9:231). Compare Ps. 93.1 where Yahwe is clothed in might. The symbolism of wearing certain abstract qualities appears also in magic literature, such as the Uruk incantation, in which a formula states that the patient is stript of his garb of rage and clad with the garb of well-being.¹¹⁰

170. Common background has evoked the use of specific similes shared by various branches of East Mediterranean literature. For example, the form of a maiden may be likened to a stately palm tree. Od. 6:163 compares Nausicaa to a palm. Canticles 7.8 likens the form of the girl to a palm, adding that her breasts are like clusters of grapes. The combination of grape and palm results from the fact that the vines were trained on palms instead of on trellises. Palm groves with clusters of grapes hanging from the palm branches are portrayed on Assyrian reliefs.

171. Comparing a fleet-footed youth to a deer must be all but universal. Yet the prominence given to it in East Mediterranean literature is of interest. In David's dirge (II Sam. 1.19) heroes are called "deer." Joab's brother Asahel is said to have been fleet of foot like a deer in the fields (II Sam. 2.18). One of the honorific titles of heroes in Ugaritic is "deer" (*Ug. Manual*

¹¹⁰ Transliterated and translated in *Orientalia* 9, 1940, pp. 29-38.

§20.772). The Greeks, unlike the Semites, were fond of the dog and used it in hunting.¹¹¹ Accordingly, while the hero Hector is compared with a deer, Achilles, who overtook and vanquished him, is likened to a hound (Il. 22:189-190).

172. Homer often uses "dalliance" to refer not to sex but to war (Il. 11:502; 13:291, 779; 17:228; 22:126-8). The application of a word for "dalliance" to "fighting" has a parallel in Hebrew. The root *šhq* (lit., "to laugh") has the meaning "to play with," including sexual dalliance; cf. Isaac's dalliance with his wife Rebecca in Gen. 26.8. This very word refers to the deadliest kind of combat in II Sam. 2.14 where "Abner said to Joab: 'Let the youths arise and play (*sic!*) before us.' " The "play" resulted in the death of all the contestants (v. 16).

173. Pairs of antonyms to designate totality are common all over the world. We say "they came great and small" to signify "everybody came." But certain specific pairs are not universal. For example, the "tree of knowledge, good and evil"¹¹² means simply the "tree of all kinds of knowledge," though the fact that "good and evil" does not occur as a universalism in English hides the plain sense of the passage from the English reader. Od. 4:392 uses "evil and good" in the sense of "everything"; cf. "all things, good and evil" (Od. 20:85-86; cf. :309-10) and "I know each thing, the good and the evil" (Od. 18:228-9).

174. The hero's apology for his past conduct is included in the repertoire. Achilles' apology (Il. 9:308 ff., 320 ff.) is to be compared with Jacob's (Gen. 31); both are in direct discourse.

175. The sympathetic presentation of the *dramatis personae* opposed to the heroes appears in Od. 2:85-128, where the wooers' side is favorably portrayed against the wily Penelope. Cf. Gen. 31, in which Laban's side of the story is given, as well as Jacob's, even though the sympathies of the author are squarely with the guileful Jacob. The favorable light in which the Trojans are

¹¹¹ Ugaritic literature, while couched in Semitic, occupies an intermediate position socially. Thus dogs, in the Epic of Kret, are at home in the palaces of kings, quite as in the Homeric epics. Nor are swine taboo in Ugarit.

¹¹² This point and its implications (cf. Gen. 2.17; 3.22) are discussed in *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, pp. 22-23. For "good + evil = totality," see also Gen. 24.50; I Sam. 22.15; I Kings 3.7; Zeph. 1.12; Prov. 15.3.

shown in the Iliad, does not come under this heading. The Trojans are no less heroic than the Achaeans, once we understand the function of the Iliad (§23). While the Od. and Gen. passages just cited might possibly be due to a natural sympathy for the victims of guile, they might also be a legacy from national epic, in which both sides must be treated kindly in order to fulfil the purpose of welding them together.

176. Instructions not to tell a lady unpleasant news lest it upset her, appear in Od. 2:372-6, where Telemachus leaves instructions not to inform Penelope of his departure lest she mar her fair flesh with weeping. Similarly, the sick Kret tells his son Ilhu not to tell Octavia that he, Kret, is ill, because she is tenderhearted and will be distressed (125:31 ff.).

177. The epithet "single-hoofed" (applied to horses in Il. 5:236, 321; 19:end) brings up an interesting point. Most people are not concerned with whether their animals are single or cloven hoofed. But East Mediterranean usage did make an issue of it. This happens to be a cornerstone of the Mosaic classification of quadrupeds. To be ritually edible a quadruped has to be cloven hoofed as well as ruminating. The Hebrew abhorrence of swine may also have some precedent in the East Mediterranean. The transformation of Odysseus' comrades by Circe may be the more tragic, because, of all beasts, they were turned into swine.

178. The climaxing of "3" by "4" is frequent in Homer (Od. 2:89, 107; cf. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 29, 1954, pp. 167-8). This is well attested in the Bible too; e. g., (Amos 1.3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2.1, 4, 6) "for the 3 sins of N; yea for 4, I would not reverse it"; cf. Prov. 30.15, 18, 21, 29.

179. The climaxing of "6 days" by "the 7th" is so frequent in Homer, Ugarit and the Bible (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 29, 1954, pp. 168-9), that the seven day week, whereby the six working days are climaxed by the Sabbath, can only go back to pre-Mosaic East Mediterranean usage. This usage may have reached the area from Mesopotamia for the climaxing of 6 days by the 7th is familiar, for example, in the Gilgamesh Epic; e. g., 11:127-30, where the 6 days of the flood-storm is climaxed by calm on the 7th; and 11:142-6, where after the ark

remains motionless on the mountain for 6 days, Utnapishtim sends forth the dove on the 7th.

180. The 7-day grouping triumphed over competition from other groupings. The 9-day period is attested in Homer (e. g., Il. 6:174) and Egyptian (e. g., in the Wenamon text, a guest spends 9 days with his host in accordance with a literary cliché).

181. The climaxing of "12" by "13" (see Il. 10:488 || 495 and 560 || 561), where an examination of the context shows that the higher number is logically "14", has a striking parallel in Gen. 14.4-5 where the series "12 || 13 || 14" occurs. The fact that Gen. 14 is atypical in the Patriarchal Narratives and that "12 || 13 || 14" is unique in the Old Testament, suggests that Gen. 14 and Il. 10:488, 495, 560-1 share a common (Indo-European?) influence that penetrated the East Mediterranean.

182. The number "20" enjoys a special status (§78). Note Od. 5:34 where an arrival on the 20th day is reported. Menelaus and Helen are separated for 20 years; so are Odysseus and Penelope. Gen. 31.38 gives Jacob's sojourn with Laban as of 20 years duration. In the Book of Judges there are examples of time-reckoning in multiples of 20; thus 20 years (4:3), 40 years (5:31) and 80 years (3:30).

183. In Ugaritic (52:67; 75:11:46), "years" may be paralleled by a synonym meaning "circling ones." The Homeric reflexes of this synonym are used adjectivally; e. g., "in ten circling years" (Il. 8:404, 418), "in five circling years" (Il. 23:833).

SUMMARY

184. The meeting of many peoples in the Levant during the second millennium B. C. converted the East Mediterranean into the focal point of world history and produced the synthesis that gave birth to Western Civilization. The peoples involved were varied. Some contributed the heritage of Mesopotamia and Egypt. At the center were the Minoans who stimulated their less developed neighbors such as the Greeks and Hebrews to produce civilizations of their own.

185. We are often able to identify Sumero-Akkadian, Hittite, and Egyptian contributions to East Mediterranean literature by

the help of cuneiform and Egyptian texts. Much must have been contributed by the Greeks and other Indo-European nations — to say nothing of the many other known ethnic factors — but it is idle for us to disseminate speculation when so much solid work can be done.

186. Geography and archeology have long indicated that the Greeks and Hebrews started on their historic careers in different but interrelated segments of the East Mediterranean. Bold spirits have intermittently maintained the kinship of early Greece and the ancient Near East. Now Ugarit at last provides the literary link connecting Israel and Hellas.

187. No longer can we assume that Greece is the hermetically sealed Olympian miracle, any more than we can consider Israel the vacuum-packed miracle from Sinai. Rather must we view Greek and Hebrew civilizations as parallel structures built upon the same East Mediterranean foundation.



/ INDO-EUROPEAN AND HEBREW EPIC

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INDO-EUROPEAN AND HEBREW EPIC

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THE migrations of the Indo-Europeans in a generally westward¹ direction have left a chain of related languages from India, in the east, to the Teutonic and Celtic areas in the west. But people always bear with them more than their language, and we can be sure that the Indo-Europeans in the course of their historic wanderings carried both material and spiritual possessions with them, including a literature (albeit oral) and social institutions.

The second millennium B.C., from its inception, was an age of Indo-European migration into the Near East. The most obvious effect of the movement was the establishment of Hittite kingdoms in Anatolia and Syria that have left us Indo-European inscriptions in cuneiform and hieroglyphic Hittite. The overlords of the Mitanni were Indo-European. The Hyksos invaders of Egypt had Indo-European elements. Minoan Linear B, used widely throughout the Eastern Mediterranean soon after the middle of the second millennium, is Greek. The epic traditions of Israel, starting with the Patriarchal narratives, are set in Palestine *after* the penetration of the Indo-European Hittites from the north and the Indo-European² Philistines from the west. When the Bible portrays Abraham as dealing with Hittites and Philistines, we have a correct tradition insofar as Hebrew history dawned in a partially Indo-Europeanized Palestine³. This is reflected in Hebraic literature and institutions from the start.

The connections between the earliest Greek and

Hebrew literatures are established⁴, and the reason for them is clear when we evaluate what took place at Ugarit: a city in Canaan where Semitic and Indo-European (Hittite and especially Greek Caphthorian) elements intermingled. Much the same thing was happening all through Canaan as far south as Hebron (where Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah from a Hittite in the presence of Hittites) and Gerar and Beersheba (where Abimelech, King of the Philistines, made treaties with the Patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac).

The Near East has been the meeting-place of various cultures from the earliest historic times. Sumerian-Akkadian, Egyptian, Minoan, Anatolian, Canaanite and countless other ethnic elements made their cultural contributions in the Near East to Western Civilization, largely via Israel and Greece that fell heir to what had gone before them, and more than all the others, digested, enriched and transmitted that heritage to the West. To unravel the strands of what the Greeks or Hebrews inherited is no easy task; yet something can be done. Sumerian-Akkadian and Egyptian literatures are sufficiently extant and old to indicate some of the specific contributions of Mesopotamia and of the Nile Valley. The question in this paper is: How are we to identify the Indo-European elements in Eastern Mediterranean, and specifically in Hebrew, literature? Not everything in Homer is Indo-European any more than everything in the Bible is Semitic. To answer the question, we need outside controls, which fortunately exist. There is a series of Indo-European literatures and traditions stretching all the way from India to Iceland. Indic epic litera-

1. Such generalities are not intended to be strained. For the Aryans swept into India from the north, and the Philistines penetrated Canaan from the west.

2. We use such terms linguistically, not racially.

3. Cf. Ugaritic *agn*, Sanskrit *agni*, Latin *ignis* "fire" (C. H. Gordon: *Ugaritic Manual*, Rome, 1955, § 20.37).

4. I have given the evidence in detail in "Homer and Bible: The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature", *HUCA*, 26 (1955), pp. 43—108.

ture is the most extensive and the earliest⁵; the Teutonic traditions are later and more attenuated, but still of some value for our purpose. By using these controls critically we have a means of identifying Indo-European elements in the ancient Near East.

We must face a general problem in interpreting the evidence. Are parallels to be understood as (1) similar responses to similar stimuli, or as (2) diffusion and borrowing historically in time and place? Either answer can be given, depending on the circumstances. If a scholar thinks along purely typological lines, he may, like Chadwick⁶, conclude that since contact between Indians, Greeks and Scandinavians is unlikely⁷, we are dealing with unrelated though similar reflexes of independent heroic ages. A student of early Eurasian migrations might, to the contrary, underestimate the frequency of such spontaneous reflexes and attribute all similarities to historic diffusion. As I view the matter, we should not bring a prefabricated methodology or viewpoint to the problem, but rather let the methodology and conclusions come from the material itself.

Toward the close of the second millennium B.C., two branches of the Minoan or Caphtorian people dominated Greece and Palestine respectively. The early excavations at Mycenae prompted the name "Mycenaeans" for those in Greece. The Bible provides the name "Philistines" for those in Palestine. Kindred Caphtorian warlords in Greece and Israel made it inevitable that a measure of Caphtorian culture spanned the two areas. When, therefore, 1 Samuel xxxi : 8—13 tells us that the last honours paid to Saul and his sons included the burning of their bodies before the burial of their bones, we are not to emend the text because the usage is un-Semitic. As in textual criticism, so also in the factual content of

ancient texts, *lectio difficilior praeferenda est*. Just because the burning seems at first incomprehensible to us, we should suspect that the tradition is correct as it stands⁸. And once we put the matter in historic context, everything fits like a hand in a glove. Homeric heroes, such as Patroclus and Hector, are also burned on a funeral pyre before their bones are buried. Gilboa and Troy are part of the same Eastern Mediterranean world toward the end of the second millennium B.C. Considerations of time, place and human agents tell us to view the funeral pyres of Saul and Hector as manifestations of the same historic context; not as accidental parallel developments.

Now we are ready to ask whether burning the bodies of heroes fallen in battle is limited to the Eastern Mediterranean or belongs to a wider sphere. That it is un-Egyptian, un-Mesopotamian and un-Canaanite becomes obvious upon surveying Egyptian, Sumero-Akkadian and Ugaritic literature. The Egyptians preserved the body as meticulously as possible; there is no reason for surmising that Gilgamesh burned his dead friend Enkidu; Daniel of Ugarit recovered the body of his heroic son Aqhat and buried it without burning. We have every reason to conclude that the innovation of burning the bodies of heroes before burial is due to the Indo-Europeans, because the phenomenon appears in Indo-European epic all the way from India to the Anglo-Saxon world, with Homeric epic in the middle⁹.

Once a striking organic parallel like the preceding one is established, we may turn to the paralleled details which, though they might not be convincing individually, may now be used to round out the picture. The singling out of women's devotion to their slain menfolk in protecting their corpses from birds and beasts is part of the Indo-European epic repertoire. Indian epic portrays wives driving off birds of prey from the

5. Indologists are agreed that the epics are older than the extant manuscripts, and that some of the epic features antedate the Aryan invasion of India.

6. H. M. Chadwick: *The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912.

7. This "unlikelihood" is, of course, untenable to the historian. Eduard Meyer saw quite clearly the organic relationship between Greek and Teutonic literatures in spite of the lapse of time.

8. The rationale is that no scribe changes a clear reading into a meaningless one, although he might change a difficult reading into an easier one. (Of course, once the right reading is understood, it ceases to be difficult.)

9. See N. K. Sidhanta: *The Heroic Age of India*, London, 1929, pp. 213—216 for the Indo-European evidence.

corpses of their husbands¹⁰; 2 Samuel xxi:10 relates that Rizpah protected the corpses of her sons and of Michal's sons by not allowing "the fowl of heaven to light upon them by day" nor "the beasts of the field by night"; even as Aphrodite kept the dogs from Hector's corpse by day and night (Iliad 23:185—6). The high literary level of funeral dirges in Homer and the Bible (N.B. 2 Samuel i:17 ff.) is explicable because of the long tradition of dirges for heroes in Indo-European epic. Note the Indic lament for the dead by women¹¹ as attested also in Homer (Iliad 19:287—300) and the Bible (2 Samuel i:24).

Both the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata mention the endowment of heroes with divine weapons fetched from the gods¹². Thus Arjuna receives weapons from Śiva. Hephaistos made Achilles' armour, even as Kothar-and-Ḥasis presented (and presumably made) Aqhat's bow¹³. Against this background, it is likely that in the original traditions underlying the account of Ishmael (Genesis xxi:12—21), the latter was endowed with a divinely fashioned bow, for he was destined by God to become an archer (v. 20). The *leitmotif* is his mother's sitting a bow-shot away (v. 16) before God intervenes in the child's fate (v. 17). Against the comparative Indo-European background, we can restore the divine gift of the weapon in Genesis xxi, even though puristic Hebrew theology has expunged it from our text¹⁴.

Vulnerability in the foot is certainly not necessitated by man's physical nature. On the contrary, its place in literature is due rather to its being the least likely spot for a mortal wound. The story of Achilles' heel is well known; that it is part of the Indo-European epic repertoire is suggested by

the fact that Kṛṣṇa is shot and killed by an arrow in the sole of his foot, the only spot at which he is vulnerable¹⁵. This may explain the recurrence of wounding the heel in Hebrew tradition: the serpent is to strike the sons of Eve in the heel (Genesis iii:15) and Gad is to strike his foe in the heel (Genesis xlix:19)¹⁶. The same theme may underlie Ugaritic *dt ydt m'qbk* (3 Aqht: "rev.": 19)¹⁷. The absence of this curious theme from the older literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia favour its Indo-European origin in Canaan, for Ugaritic and Hebrew literatures appear in the wake of the Indo-European migrations.

A repeated theme in Hebrew epic tradition is the abduction and restoration of the heroine. Twice Sarah is wrested from Abraham but he recovers her from both Pharaoh and Abimelech. Rebecca is nearly taken by Abimelech from Isaac. David's wives and children are captured by the Amalekites at Ziklag, but he recovers them. His royal wife Michal is also taken away from him but he recovers her. This theme is attested at Ugarit in the Epic of Kret, the king who lost his destined bride but recovered her by going after her with a large army. We may call this the Helen-of-Troy motif; and in the Iliad not only does Menelaus go to recover Helen but also Achilles recovers Briseis. This motif appears in both the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. In fact the story of Rāma is related in the Mahābhārata to console Yudhiṣṭhira for the abduction of Draupadī. Rāma regains his wife Sitā from captivity unsullied¹⁸ even as Achilles and Abraham regained their heroines unsullied¹⁹. The absence of this motif from the earlier literatures of the Near East (even from a romance like Sinuhe or an epic like Gilgamesh) support the Indo-European provenance of a major theme in the literatures of Canaan and Greece.

Some of the features of early Hebrew narrative that have perplexed Jewish and Christian readers

10. M. Winternitz: *A History of Indian Literature*, I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 371.

11. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 370—1. In such common matters, the act itself is less important than its inclusion in the epic repertoire.

12. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

13. 2 Aqht V. The Ugaritic texts are in *Ugaritic Manual*, Part II. They are translated in my *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949); see pp. 88—89 for Aqhat's divinely given bow.

14. Note that Teucer's bow was divinely given (Iliad 15:441).

15. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

16. In the light of Genesis xxv:26, the name of Jacob may have been associated with this theme.

17. But the interpretation of the passage is difficult; see *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 91.

18. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

19. "Homer and Bible", p. 81, § 89.

for centuries become clear against a comparative Indo-European literary background. Lapses in ethics are *common* among the *heroes* of Scripture. Abraham made misleading statements with intent to deceive; Jacob engaged in no end of skulduggery with Laban; Saul treacherously tried to kill David; David caused Uriah's death; and Joab, foremost among David's heroes, murdered Abner perfidiously. In none of these cases is either side vilified; Saul, David, Uriah, Joab, Abner *et al.* are all heroic figures. As in Indic, Greek and Teutonic epic, Hebrew epic deals with an aristocracy that commands respect. The audience to whom it was recited would not tolerate the vilification of their order, nor would the minstrel be welcome in circles whose family or friends he had insulted. The failings of the great are often true to life, and always (true or false) make for a good story. An epic full of regularly pious heroes could not make good entertainment for lords and ladies at the festive board. The ideal heroes of Indic epic, like the Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata, suffer from grave moral lapses in conduct much as the Kauravas do²⁰. Arjuna, usually a model of chivalry, kills Karna treacherously²¹; indeed Arjuna kills contrary to all the rules of war²². Moreover it is Kṛṣṇa who originates the treachery in the Mahābhārata²³.

The emphasis on genealogy in Hebraic tradition should not be regarded a late accretion. That heroes are supplied with genealogies in the Iliad shows that the Old Testament genealogies are part of early Eastern Mediterranean tradition. Again we may contrast the lack of stress on genealogy in the ancient literary texts of Mesopotamia and Egypt, with the Indic emphasis on it. The ancient Indian bard had to trace, or invent, genealogies for the kings; and genealogical verses are an essential part of the epic. We are thus dealing with a characteristic of Indo-European epic.

An odd feature that crops up in many ancient literatures is the enumeration of three insignia

of authority or identification. Judah's three are his seal, belt²⁴, and staff (Genesis xxxviii:18); Esau's are his vessel, quiver and bow (Genesis xxvii:3). In Ugaritic literature there is a whole series of different triple insignia for the various characters²⁵. Viṣṇu is called "the unconquerable Kṛṣṇa with conch, discus and club in his hands"²⁶. The same feature appears also in Icelandic literature.

One of the clues to a literary tradition is the use of conventional number patterns. In Genesis xiv:4—5, there is the sequence "12 || 13 || 14", which is not among the familiar patterns in Hebrew literature. For 12 years there was peaceful subservience; in the 13th there was rebellion; and in the 14th Chedorlaomer and his allies came back and waged war against the rebels. In *Homer and Bible* (§ 181), I pointed out a Homeric parallel and suggested an Indo-European origin, which is now confirmed by Indian epic parallels. Indian epic has the motif of banishment in a forest²⁷ for twelve years, followed by a sojourn somewhere during the 13th year, climaxed by return from banishment in the 14th (leading to war as in Genesis)²⁸.

The absence of levirate marriage in the older legislations of the Near East is striking when compared with its frequency in the later documents such as the Middle Assyrian Laws, the Hittite Code, the Nuzu contracts and the Bible (Genesis xxxviii, Deuteronomy xxv:5—9, Ruth)—all in the wake of the Indo-European

24. This is the meaning of *petil* (var. *petilim* in v. 25). The belt was made of strands, often shown as threefold in Mesopotamian art. The belt, used in belt-wrestling, became a prized personal possession of ancient Near Eastern man. See *HUCA* 23, Part I, (1950—51), pp. 131—6. Note the verbal use of PTL "to wrestle, struggle" in גַּם־יִכְלַח־עִם־אֶחָתִי נִפְתּוּלִי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתּוּלִי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתּוּלִי אֱלֹהִים (Genesis xxx:8) "with mighty strugglings have I struggled with my sister but I have prevailed". (For "אלהים of grandeur", see *Ugaritic Manual* § 13.20).

25. *Ugaritic Literature*, pp. 19 (n. 1), 41 (n. 1), 53 (n. 1).

26. Sidhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

27. El's departure to the forest (Ugaritic text 67:VI:18) while mourning for Baal now has an Indo-European ring. Cf. also the prolonged arboreal sojourn of the "Good Gods" among the trees (Ugaritic text 52:66) prior to their triumphant mission of fertility.

28. Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 345, 350, 502.

20. Sidhanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 24—25; Winternitz, *op. cit.* pp. 454—5.

21. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

22. Cf. Sidhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

23. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 454—5.

migrations. Levirate marriage (called *niyoga* in Sanskrit; *yibbūm* in Hebrew) is prominent in Aryan India from epic times. It is common among other Indo-Europeans too, like the Greeks, and there is every reason to believe that it was introduced to (or at least popularized in) the Near East by the Indo-European newcomers during the second millennium. Levirate marriage in theory does not involve remarriage; it is rather a question of brother replacing brother in the same marriage²⁹. Rabbinic law is conservative and historically correct in maintaining that a levirate marriage is automatic without any ceremony or legal formality. The fact that the issue of the marriage is credited to the deceased brother is further evidence that the woman is regarded as continuing her former (and only) marriage. This is especially clear in India, where tradition is opposed to the remarriage of widows³⁰; *niyoga* is not remarriage but the continuation of the same marriage. And this is why suttee (i.e., widow-burning) runs parallel to *niyoga* from the earliest times in India³¹. This raises an interesting problem in Genesis xxxviii where the widow Tamar has levirate rights. When Judah first hears of her pregnancy, but does not yet know of his personal responsibility in the affair, he gives the order: "Bring her out so that she may be burned" (v. 24). To the casual reader this seems like a spontaneous outburst of moral indignation on Judah's part, but a closer examination of the text points to more technical considerations of a sociological character. Tamar is in her father's house (v. 11) and when we read that she was evicted (v. 25) as a result of Judah's order, we must consider it probable that her father ejected her to be burned

because custom sanctioned it. Burning widows certainly does not have a Semitic ring, nor does the episode fit in with later Hebrew legislation. It is quite possible that in Genesis xxxviii we have evidence of both Indo-European treatments for widows: levirate marriage and burning, precisely as in India³². This is also in keeping with the trend for institutions in the Patriarchal narratives to be confirmed by extrabiblical sources.

While it may be a common trait for husbands through their wills to try to prevent the remarriage of their wives, it is worth recalling that in India, wives, according to tradition should not remarry. (Contrast Hammurapi's Code, which takes the remarriage of widows as a matter of course.) In the Near East, precisely in the wake of the Indo-European migrations, husbands' wills do everything possible to prevent their future widows from remarrying. This is well documented at both Nuzu and Ugarit. At Nuzu the matter is pressed so far that the reprehensible widow is to be driven out naked³³ by her own sons. That sons are asked to deal so harshly with their mother is not out of keeping with the Indo-European epic; Jamadagni asks his sons to kill their mother for a moral slip of hers, and Paraśurāma, who fulfills his father's request, is a traditional hero³⁴.

The Samson narrative is replete with Indo-European folklore and epic motifs. Even the "wrath of Samson" over the woman taken away from him is unmistakably akin to the more famous "Wrath of Achilles" (*Homer and Bible* § 92). Some of the features of the Samson story are paralleled in Indian epic. Samson's wager (Judges xiv:12 ff.) should be compared with the emphasis on gambling in both of the great epics of India³⁵. Moreover unfairness in such sport is part of the epic repertoire; cf. the Mahābhārata, where the king of the Kauravas cheats the

29. Levirate marriage is operative according to Deuteronomy xxv:5 "when brothers are dwelling together"; i.e., in a fratriarchal household. The logical conclusion of such marriage is the polyandrous sharing of one wife by a group of brothers: a custom that has survived in Tibet. Interestingly enough, the heroine Draupadi is wedded simultaneously to all five Pāndava brothers in the Mahābhārata.

30. The great number of unmarried widows in India still constitutes a major social and economic problem.

31. R. W. Frazer: *A Literary History of India*, London 1907, pp. 35—36.

32. See Sidhanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 167; and Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 329 for the Indian background.

33. The stripping off of clothes is, by the way, an Indic fashion of showing legal loss of everything (Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 344). Cf. Hosea ii:5.

34. See Sidhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 161 for this and another illustration.

35. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Pāṇḍavas in gambling³⁶, with the Philistines' cheating Samson by finding out the answer to his riddle through unfair means. We may also note that the riddles in the Samson story recall the prominence of riddles in Sanskrit literature, appearing as they do in two hymns of the Rig-Veda and becoming common in post-Vedic literature³⁷. The custom of riddles at a wedding is widespread among the Indo-Europeans. Thus it appears as the means of testing a bridegroom in Russia and in the Scandinavian poem called *The Lay of All-wise*³⁸.

Old problems are put into better perspective in the light of comparative evidence. Students of Homer have often wondered at the perfection of many aspects of his art; to take only one: his portrayal of character. At the same time, Bible students marvel at the character portrayal of Saul or David or Joab. Readers of Indic epic have comparable admiration for heroes or heroines in the Ramayana and Mahābhārata. Phillpotts (*op. cit.*, p. 8) impresses on her readers that the poets of the Eddas are to be credited with a great achievement in making clear to us the motives and passions of the characters. But, as I see it, we are not to wonder at a series of independent miracles — Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Icelandic, etc. — but rather at a single Indo-European tradition with many characteristics reflected in a number of daughter epic traditions from India to Iceland. Nothing is created *ex nihilo*; and perfection, far from being a novelty, is generally the culmination of a long development. Just as Bach's music is the culmination of a long tradition spanning the Middle Ages, Homer and the Bible (as we now know from Ugarit) had a long and rich literary background in the Eastern Mediterranean. While we may never find written transcripts of the oral epics in circulation among the early Indo-Europeans in the fourth and third millennia, we can be sure that they already possessed specific merits inherited by extant Indic,

Greek, Hebrew, Teutonic and other written literatures.

Of paramount importance for the study of biblical "history" during the epic period (or more exactly of Israel's Heroic Age) is the understanding that epic is not primarily concerned with history or the importance of historic events, but rather with the real or fancied drama in the lives of heroes. This holds for most of the Hebrew record through the Davidic narratives, as well as for the Iliad or Mahābhārata. The significance of epic tradition lies not in the events but in the beliefs and social institutions³⁹ it enshrines. Just as the beliefs and creeds in the Mahābhārata aspired to the patronage of Brahmanism, with which they were to unite to form the popular religion of Hinduism⁴⁰, so too the concepts reflected in OT epic tradition were fused with other trends in Hebrew circles to form the fabric of classical Israel⁴¹. Basic concepts⁴² such as the Covenant, if not of epic origin, were at least spread by the epic. The importance of the Patriarchal narratives as a source of biblical religion is perhaps best reflected in the position Abraham has retained through the ages in Judaism, Christianity and Islam as the founder of The Religion.

Progress in the study of early Hebrew literature will require a grasp of these two facts:

1. Early Hebrew literature, starting with the Patriarchal narratives, belongs to the same East Mediterranean tradition as Ugaritic and Homeric epic, in several basic regards.

2. This Eastern Mediterranean tradition is heavily indebted to the Indo-European immigrants of the second millennium B.C.

39. Thus the Nuzu tablets have established many seeming oddities of the Patriarchal narratives as genuine social institutions; see now my *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, Ventnor (N.J.), 1953, pp. 100—119.

40. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

41. Other trends include priestcraft, prophetic reform, wisdom literature, law, liturgy (including Psalms), etc.

42. The notion that all Hebrews are descended from one ancestor; the union of God, People and Land; and the monotheistic principle are among the many concepts embodied in the Patriarchal narratives.

36. A. A. Macdonell: *India's Past*, Oxford, 1927, p. 87 ff.

37. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

38. B. S. Phillpotts: *Edda and Saga*, New York and London, 1931, p. 116.



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A Note on the Tenth Commandment

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A Note on the Tenth Commandment

CYRUS H. GORDON

IT MUST strike the modern man as strange that the Ten Commandments end with a prohibition against coveting, something which is neither criminal nor punishable in any society, including ancient Hebrew society. We understand all right the Commandments against stealing and adultery — acts which are punishable in nearly all legal systems, including ancient Israel's. But no one has ever proposed that people be jailed or fined for coveting, as long as it has not led to actual theft of the other fellow's property or adultery with the other fellow's wife. In fact, we can go farther. Coveting is recognized as necessary for success in modern society. A man who does not want to raise his standard of living to that enjoyed by the other fellow is considered ambitionless, and as such reprehensible. To be sure, if coveting results only in unconstructive greed, ostentation, or pushiness (e. g., "keeping up with the Joneses"), and therefore entails an unseemly response to the potentially desirable stimulus of coveting, it may be frowned upon. But when coveting impels us to greater effort, so that we may rise constructively toward the level of our more affluent neighbors, we are on the path that universally leads to approbation. Why, then, does the Bible make a great issue of coveting, grouping it with such evil offenses as murder?

I

Much of the Old Testament was prompted by the opposition of the Hebrew leaders to the usages of their neighbors. Sometimes those usages were immoral to the extent that they still appear immoral to us, e. g., child sacrifice, sacred prostitution, and carnal relations with animals. But sometimes they appear rather innocent; cf. the prohibitions against making a statue of any living creature, against masquerading, and against cattle performing any work on the sabbath (Deut. 5:8; 22:5; 5:14). Can any of us wax indignant over Abraham Lincoln's statue in Washington, or a children's Halloween party, or a horse taking his master to church on the sabbath?

The principle involved is clearly enunciated in Scripture many times. For example, "According to the deeds of the land of Egypt where ye have dwelt ye shall not do; nor shall ye do according to the deeds of the land of Canaan whither I am bringing you, nor shall ye go by their usages" (Lev. 18:3). This is the key to solving the problem before us.

We may formulate as a principle that opposition to alien customs is at work whenever the Hebrews make a great issue over something that is not recognizable as wrong. There was a time when biblical scholars had to formulate principles without any outside controls. This led to a theoretical approach to Scripture with results that were subjective and therefore often erroneous. We are now in a more advantageous position because of extra-biblical sources unearthed by archaeologists working in the Near East. For understanding the Old Testament, by far the most important literary texts ever discovered are the clay tablets from Ugarit, written between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. at a north Syrian coastal

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city and in a language closely related to Hebrew. The Ugaritic myths and epics are a kind of Canaanite Bible, portraying the culture against which the Hebrews rebelled. For instance, a great heroine called Pughat disguised herself as a man and wielded a sword to exact blood revenge. The honored place given in Ugaritic literature to wearing the clothes of the opposite sex and to the use of weapons by a woman explains the strong opposition to these usages in the Bible (cf. Deut. 22:5).¹ Again, the death penalty for copulation with cattle (Exod. 22:18) becomes readily intelligible when we read in the sacred myths of Ugarit that the great god Baal mated with a heifer. Baal was the most popular god in Canaanite religion and was therefore the object of revulsion among the spiritual leaders of Israel. Hence, anything ascribed to Baal, whether abominable or innocent, is likely to be condemned in Scripture.

II

With this introduction we are prepared to understand the commandment against coveting. Baal is described as coveting tauromorphic creatures with "horns like bulls." The word used is *hamad*, "to covet," exactly as in the Ten Commandments. This Ugaritic text (#75) has been known since 1935 when it was published by the French cuneiformist Charles Virolleaud. I am now reading proof on the fourth revised edition of my *Ugaritic Textbook* for the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. To help me bring it up to date, Professor Virolleaud has generously placed at my disposal the proof sheets of his forthcoming volume of newly discovered Ugaritic texts, *Palais royal d'Ugarit V*. In the very first text of this important book, Baal is described as coveting (the same word *hamad* is used) in a context mentioning fine agricultural terrain. It is no accident that the Bible specifies the bull and the field of our neighbor as objects that we must not covet, for these are precisely what Baal covets in the two texts just mentioned.

One of the main scenes in the religious texts of Ugarit is the story of how Baal obtained a house. He complained that "he had no house like the (other) gods, nor a court like the the Sons of Asherah," which means in plain prose that he coveted the houses of his neighbors. Instead of sulking in silence, Baal behaved like a man destined to succeed. He bestirred himself and in the end secured a superb house built of the finest materials by the greatest of all architects. The scene of "The House of Baal" constitutes a major part of Ugaritic literature. Apparently the emphasis upon it prompted the biblical author to begin the commandment in Exod. 20:17 with "Thou shalt not covet the house of thy neighbor."

Moralists may make of the tenth commandment what they will. They can say that if we do not covet, we will not embark on the path that leads to theft and adultery. If coveting could be detected and treated as crime, the commandments and laws against stealing and adultery would be superfluous. But this is not the case. Biblical and modern laws provide penalties for theft and adultery. But the Bible could not punish coveting because it comprises a universal aspect of human behavior that no court of law — whether in ancient Israel or in the modern West — can stop. However, what we can now do is to understand why coveting — though not immoral or illegal — is included as a prohibition in the Ten Commandments. Whatever had an honored place in Baalism is likely to be condemned in Scripture. This is a principle repeatedly expressed in the Bible, but one which we can now for the first time control because of the materials placed in our hands by archaeology.

¹ This verse is usually mistranslated. The Hebrew should be rendered thus: "The instrument of a man (i. e., a man's weapon) shall not be upon a woman, nor shall a man wear a woman's clothes, for an abomination to Yahweh, thy God, are all who do these things."

The Decipherment of Minoan and Eteocretan

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THE DECIPHERMENT OF MINOAN AND ETEOCRETAN

By CYRUS H. GORDON

TWO CATEGORIES OF NON-GREEK inscriptions from Crete, known as Minoan and Eteocretan, are from different periods. Minoan documents stem from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (particularly c. 1850–1400 B.C.), whereas the extant Eteocretan texts were inscribed during Early Iron III (c. 600–300 B.C.). In assigning both categories to North-west Semitic, we shall base our conclusions on the inscriptions themselves, rather than on secondary considerations. Proper names will not be used as primary evidence, because people (including ourselves) often bear names derived from languages other than the one they speak. The same goes for the names of the places they inhabit and of the gods they worship. We shall not reiterate the evidence of history and tradition.¹ Since our problem is linguistic, we shall concentrate on the direct linguistic data in the Minoan and Eteocretan inscriptions.

Our methods must be objective and cogent. We must remember that the same methods are not applicable to all decipherments. For example, we now have Ugaritic-Akkadian bilinguals which provide all the basis one could have desired for the decipherment of Ugaritic. But Ugaritic was in fact deciphered the hard way on the basis of unilinguals, before the bilinguals were unearthed. The ideal bilingual method could not be used for the decipherment of Ugaritic in 1929–30. The available material determines what methods can and cannot be employed.

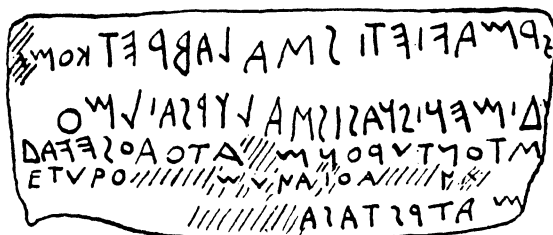
Eteocretan is the best starting-point because it is recorded in a fully known script: the familiar “Cadmean or Phoenician letters” used by the Greeks.

Two of the texts are bilinguals (Fig. 1). Three of the unilinguals (Figs. 2, 3) contain substantial phrase and sentence structure with important variants. Besides, Greek and Eteocretan unilinguals from the same Early Iron III communities at Praisos and Dreros provide us with the Greek version of the same vocabulary, phrases, and subject matter. We shall use (i) the bilingual method to get started on the right course; (ii) the method of translating whole Eteocretan phrases to test and confirm the evidence of the bilinguals; (iii) the method of inner variants to give us synonyms and alternative idioms to reconfirm our results; and (iv) the method of parallel unilinguals, which provide Eteocretan-Greek equivalences. Obviously all readings must fit the context, and though it sounds banal, it must be stated unequivocally that we adhere to (v) the contextual method. Another feature of the decipherment is interpretation within the framework of known epigraphical usage in the ancient East Mediterranean; we may call this (vi) the method of collateral evidence and comparative phraseology. These happen to be among the applicable methods of procedure, and there are others that need not be given names. The material dictates the methods. There is no one prefabricated methodology for deciphering all scripts and languages. When we come to Minoan, the material makes possible the use of other methods such as (vii) the fixing of meaning through pictograms and determinatives that accompany spelled-out words.

¹ Many names of people, places, and gods, as well as the ancient historical sources and traditions, point to the North-west Semitic character of the Minoan and Eteocretan texts, but the evidence need not be repeated here. See my “The Minoan connection”, *Natural History*, 81, Oct. 1972, 74–84.

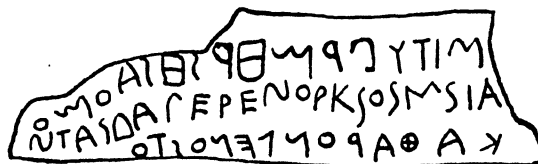
I have written the above to indicate the constant application of method in the sequel. While it is necessary to work methodically, it is superfluous to discuss methodology at every turn. Like virtue, it should be practiced, but not necessarily talked about.

THE FIRST DREROS BILINGUAL



(a)

THE SECOND DREROS BILINGUAL



(b)

FIG. 1.

There are two Eteocretan-Greek bilinguals from Dreros.² The Eteocretan version of the First Dreros Bilingual opens with]ιρμαF "they decreed"³ = EFAΔE in the Greek version. The final word in the Eteocretan is λμο, while the Greek version ends with [ται] ματρι ται α[Fτο] "for h[is] mother". Thus the Greek version tells us to equate λμο with Hebrew לַמֶּלֶךְ l'immō "for his mother". The orthographic and linguistic features governing the equations have been set forth, and there are other Greco-Eteocretan correspondences in both bilinguals,⁴ confirming the North-west Semitic character of Eteocretan. However, since the bilinguals are short, it is well that we can test the linguistic classification of Eteocretan through the Eteocretan unilinguals which provide longer contexts.

The longest translatable phrase in the Eteocretan texts is ετ . με υ μαρ κρκο κλες . υ ες . . .⁵ The first word is identical in sound with the particle תא 'er (ubiquitous in Hebrew and not uncommon in Phoenician) that introduces the definite, direct object of a verb, or serves

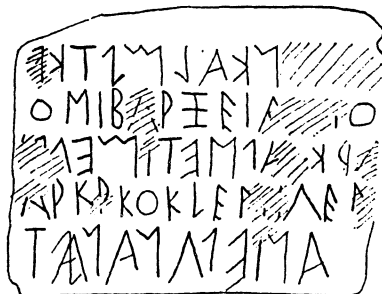
² These bilinguals (on Fig. 1) have been analysed in *EML* (my *Evidence for the Minoan language*, Ventnor, N.J., 1966), 8-10.

³ This meaning of Aramaic r'mā is attested in the Palmyrene inscriptions, as called to my attention by William Bixler.

⁴ *EML*, 9 (para. 27), and 10 (para. 31). For the orthography, phonetics, and morphology, see *EML*, 18-25; on p. 25 is a list of 25 translatable North-west Semitic words in Eteocretan, nearly all of which are correct.

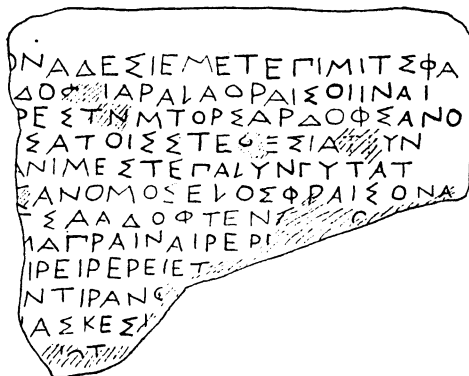
⁵ In lines 3-4 of the Early (First) Praisos Text, on Fig. 2.

THE EARLY (FIRST) PRAISOS TEXT



(a)

THE SECOND PRAISOS TEXT



(b)

FIG. 2.

as the preposition "with". The rest of the phrase corresponds to what would appear in Hebrew as . . . *מי הוא מר כרכו כל איש ואיש* "whosoever he be, citizen of his fortress (or) any (other) man and man of . . .". This type of expression is common in North-west Semitic adjurations for the purpose of making them all-inclusive, with no exceptions. It is characteristic of this idiom, that the scribes coined, or at least drew on, a wide variety of alternative wordings. The following examples are Phoenician: The Tabnit inscription addresses all potential grave robbers thus: *my 't kl 'dm 'š* . . . "whosoever thou art, any man who (removes this sarcophagus)".⁶ The Eshmunazar text words it this way: *qnm y 't kl mmlkt wkl 'dm* "my oath is with every ruler and every (other) man" (= a merism for "king and commoner", i.e. "everybody").⁷ Azitawadd's formula runs: *w'm mlk bmlkm wrzn brznm*

⁶ Donner-Röllig (H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1962-4), I, 2-3. Text 13:3.

⁷ Donner-Röllig, I, 3. Text 14:20.

'm 'dm 'š 'dm šm "and if any king among kings, or prince among princes, or any man who is a man of renown (works mischief)".⁸ Accordingly, the Eteocretan text is in keeping with East Mediterranean usage.

Another Eteocretan unilingual provides us with a variant of the formula: *vas ip o u kl es* "the people of his city and every (other) man".⁹ We can align the two Eteocretan variants and learn something from the correspondences:

μαρ κρκ-ο κλ ες υ ες
vas ip-o u kl es

The only family of languages to which these words belong is the Semitic, and the only branch of Semitic in which *μαρ κρκ* (כרך מר) and *vas ip* (וש עיר) are synonymous is North-west Semitic. Moreover, *κρκ* (כרך) "fortress" and *ip* (עיר) "city" occur individually—let alone together—only in North-west Semitic.¹⁰

THE THIRD PRAISOS TEXT

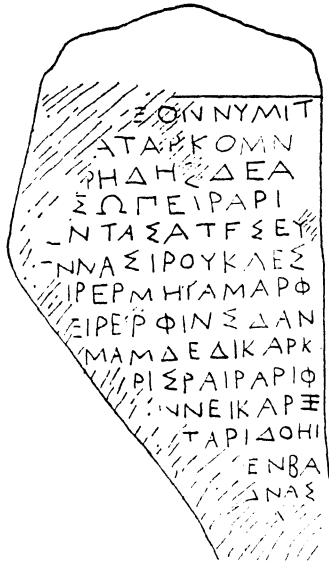


FIG. 3.

There are many more North-west Semitic readings in Eteocretan, but the two variants aligned above are of special importance because they constitute whole phrases in keeping with known East Mediterranean usage and they provide us with synonyms. A word may

⁸ Donner-Röllig, I, 6. Text 26:III, 12-13.

⁹ In l. 6 of the Third Praisos Text on Fig. 3.

¹⁰ The fact that the Greek unilinguals we are about to discuss differentiate between "city" (πόλις = עיר) and "fortress" (ὀχυρῶν = כרך) is in itself a confirmation of the decipherment of Eteocretan. I have pointed these and other correspondences out in p. 96 of my "Greek and Eteocretan unilinguals from Praisos and Dreros" (*Berytus*, XIX, 1970, 95-8).

be borrowed, but it is far less likely that pairs of synonyms are borrowed; and it is quite improbable that pairs of whole synonymous idioms are here borrowed.

There are Greek unilinguals from the same towns (Praisos and Dreros) and period as the Eteocretan unilinguals. Since the towns were bilingual, we may expect some overlap in the topics expressed in the unilinguals of the two language groups. A Greek inscription¹¹ from Praisos provides us with the idiomatic equivalent of the Eteocretan formula we have discussed: τ[οὺς ἄλλο]υς πολίτας ἐξορκιῶ τοῦ[ς ἐν]δάμου[ς μὲν . .] . . τοὺς δ' ἀποδάμους, "I shall adjure¹² the various citizens, both the natives and the foreigners." The reading, including the restored letters, is Margarita Guarducci's, established entirely on the basis of Greek usage, long before the decipherment of Eteocretan. And I recognized the Eteocretan version of this formula before I had any knowledge of the Greek unilinguals. I cannot see how the North-west Semitic character of Eteocretan can be questioned. Further refinements of classification will in time be formulated. For example, the possessive suffix -ō "his" goes with Hebrew *versus* Aramaic -eh. But μαρ and κρκ are at home in Aramaic rather than

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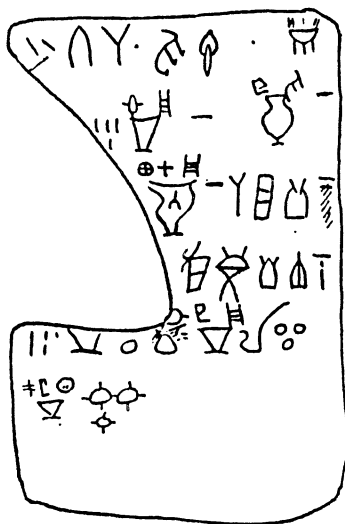


FIG. 4.

¹¹ Margarita Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, Roma, 1935-50 (to be continued); this text is in Vol. III (1942), pp. 142-4; cf. *Berytus*, XIX, 1970, 96.

¹² The verb 'rr "to curse, adjure" occurs several times in the Eteocretan unilinguals, as noted in *Berytus*, loc. cit.; e.g. on the line following *vas ipo u κλ es*, "the people of his city and every (other) man" in the Third Praisos Text (Fig. 3), appears *ιρερ μητα μαρ φ[ραισο]* "... adjure whichsoever citizen of P[raisos]".

Hebrew. There are other Aramaisms.¹³ But it would be a mistake to identify Eteocretan with one of the long-known dialects. Mixed Canaanite-Aramaic dialects are familiar; the most bizarre on record is Yaudian.

We may now turn to Minoan. We know that the Minoan Linear A syllabary is basically the same as Linear B, because many of the same proper names are written with the same signs in both Linear A and B.¹⁴ (Some syllabic signs in Linear A are not used in Linear B, for Minoan has some sounds that do not occur in the Mycenaean Greek language of Linear B.) Accordingly the decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris provides the means for pronouncing a large proportion of the Minoan texts.

A word whose meaning is fixed by context in Linear A is *ku-ro*, which introduces numerical totals. Since the script does not differentiate *l* from *r*, *ku-ro* has been identified as Semitic *kull*- "all".¹⁵ The word is used in labelling totals in the Hebrew Bible. After a list of 31 kings, the total is given as *כל מלכים שלשים ואחד* (Joshua 12:24) "all (the)¹⁶ kings: 31". The noun can be omitted as in Minoan: *הכל מאה שלשים ותשעה* (Ezra 2:42) "the total: 139". The definite article used here spread during the Iron Age, after the time when the Minoan texts were inscribed. It remained for Robert Stieglitz to observe that in 2 Sam. 23:39 the list of David's heroes is summed up, exactly as in Minoan, at the end with *כל שלשים ושבעה* "total: 37".¹⁷ If we have learned the lessons taught by archaeological discoveries, we shall not emend the Hebrew but recognize in it a survival of the early bookkeeping terminology richly attested in the Minoan tablets. We should also remember that *kull*- "all, total" is a Semitic word in the Cretan inscriptions, which starts in Minoan and persists in Eteocretan, pointing to linguistic continuity.¹⁸

Another Eteocretan word, *u* "and", starts in Minoan where it connects parallel utterances. For example, two phrases beginning with verbs that start with *ya-* are joined

¹³ In *HT* (Hagia Triada) 31 (Fig. 4), two groups of vases are described as *ki-de-ma-wi-na* and *sa-ya-ma-n[a]*, which are probably plural adjectives (describing the vessels) that may respectively mean "gold" (cf. Hebrew *כֶּתֶם* "gold") and "silver" (cf. Aramaic *סֵיִם* "silver", called to my attention by Roberta Richard). If this analysis is correct, the opposition between *-in(a)* and *-an(a)* points to Aramaic, in which the m. pl. ends in *-in* and the f. pl. in *-an*, in the absolute state; see my "*Ki-de-ma-wi-na* (*HT* 31:4)", *Kadmos*, VIII, 1969, 131-3. The Minoan text on the wine *pihos* from Epáno Zakro ends with *re-ma-re-na ti-it-ku* which suggests the meaning "for our lord Titiku"; *mārēnā* (מֶרִינָא) is Aramaic for "our lord"; the name or title Titiku occurs in *HT* 35 as a recipient of offerings, including wine. Other Aramaisms in Eteocretan include *εῖβα* (= Greek *kampós*) = Aramaic *אֲנָבָא*; *δ* = Aramaic *ד* "of"; and *wa* = Aramaic *וְ* "and"; cf. *Berytus*, XIX, 1970, 70.

¹⁴ For a list of 20 names (and there are more) occurring simultaneously in Linear A and B, see my "Minoan", *Athenaeum*, N.S., XLVII, 1969 (= *Studi in Onore di Piero Meriggi*), 127.

¹⁵ Minoan had both *l* and *r*, though they are not distinguished orthographically. The same holds for Egyptian. The proof that both Minoan and Egyptian had both sounds is that as soon as they came to be written alphabetically (i.e. as Eteocretan and Coptic respectively) *l* and *r* are written with distinctive letters. This is also true for Linear B which does not distinguish *l* from *r* orthographically, yet all Greek dialects (Cretan included) written alphabetically sharply differentiate the two sounds by different letters.

¹⁶ The absence of the article is archaic, suggesting that the text harks back to a list compiled in the days of Joshua at the end of the Bronze Age. For a Minoan example, see *HT* 88:3-5 (on Fig. 5), where six single entries are summed up as *ku-ro 6*, "total: 6".

¹⁷ Robert Stieglitz, "Minoan and Biblical totals", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, Fasc. 14, 1971, 217-18. *HT* 122 (see Fig. 5) adds two totals (*ku-ro*) of 31 and 65 to make a grand total (*po-to-ku-ro*) of 96. Stieglitz will publish the North-west Semitic analysis of *po-to*.

¹⁸ Cyrus H. Gordon, "Linguistic continuity from Minoan to Eteocretan", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, Fasc. 3, 1967, 89-92.

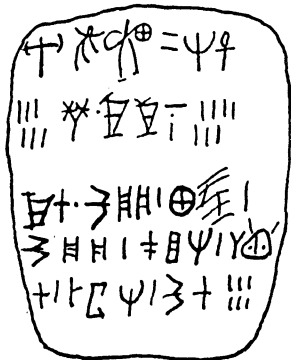
HT 86:a:1-2, b:1-2

ku-ni-su "emmer wheat"

followed by

WHEAT determinative (𐀓)

HT 88



FROM HT 122

HT 122:a:end

HT 122:b:end

FIG. 5.

by *u* on a libation bowl from Apodoulou:¹⁹ *ya-ta-no-x u ya- [...]* "he donated it and set [it up as votive offering]"; cf. Phoenician *ytn wytn* "he donated and set up as a votive offering".²⁰

There are a number of Minoan words with Semitic etymologies and in contexts that point to their meanings. HT 31 has vase-pictograms over which are inscribed, in keeping with Cretan usage,²¹ the words for the vases in question. They include *su-pu*, *su-pà-ra*, *ka-ro-pà*, and *pa-ta-ge* (cf. the Semitic vase names 𐤊𐤍, 𐤊𐤍𐤏, and Akkadian *karpu* and *pataqu*).²² The inscription on a little magic bowl from Knossos starts with the word *a-ka-nu*, Semitic

¹⁹ On Fig. 6. It is referred to as "I, 14" in the system of references to the Minoan texts followed in this article; namely, the system of W. C. Brice, *Inscriptions in the Minoan linear script of Class A* (Society of Antiquaries), London, 1961.

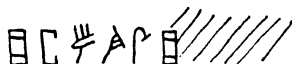
²⁰ In texts 33:2; 39:2; 41:1-2 in Donner-Röllig.

²¹ Thus, on the famous Pylos tablet that confirmed Ventris's decipherment, the words going with the vase and tripod pictograms describe the vessels, not their contents. The repeated attempt to distort the good Semitic vessel names in HT 31 into mysterious descriptions of their contents, runs against all the evidence.

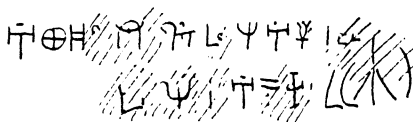
²² Some of the vase pictograms designate specific types, while a simple cup serves as the general vase pictogram. This situation, which is paralleled in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, should no longer be used to becloud the issue in HT 31. Minoan studies are being hampered by writers who are not sufficiently conversant with the ancient East Mediterranean.

'*aggānu* attested in Hebrew (אֲגָנָה), Aramaic, and Akkadian. Most significant, however, is an Aramaic incantation which refers to a magic bowl as an '*aggān*-.²³

ON LIBATION BOWL FROM APODOULOU (I,14)



ON MAGIC CUP FROM KNOSSOS (II,2)



ON LIBATION TABLE FROM KNOSSOS (I,8)

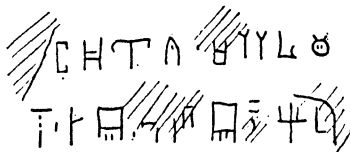


FIG. 6.

The combination *ku-ni-su* occurs four times in the Hagia Triada tablets, twice followed by the WHEAT determinative. Now *ku-ni-su* is the word for "emmer wheat" in Akkadian, with a cognate in Aramaic.²⁴ The position of *ku-ni-su* in the Minoan tablets fixes its meaning as a commodity. For example, in HT 1 it heads the tablet and is not followed by a numeral; then come names (including *da-we-da* "David") with numerals that tell how much (i.e. of the *ku-ni-su* "emmer wheat") each of the named individuals got. In HT 86 divine names head the lists, followed by commodities (including *ku-ni-su* WHEAT) with numerals that show the quantities allocated to the respective deities. All four signs in *ku-ni-su* WHEAT are established and accepted. Attempts to make of *ku-ni-su* WHEAT anything (such as a personal name) but what appears in Akkadian as *ku-ni-su* "emmer wheat" are without foundation contextually, etymologically, and orthographically.

I am under the impression that the North-west Semitic character of Eteocretan is not questioned by scholars who have taken the trouble to familiarize themselves with the material and the publications devoted to it. With Minoan, things are somewhat different. An exotic script like Linear A is not easy for most Semitists to handle, and the Minoan documents are in large measure jejune lists that reflect little about sentence structure; nor do they even provide us with as much vocabulary as we might wish. Since more material is desirable, it is regrettable that the publication of the Kato Zakro tablets has been delayed

²³ Text II, 2; see Fig. 6. For the discussion, note *EML*, 27.

²⁴ *EML*, 26. See Fig. 5 for *ku-ni-su* WHEAT on HT 86.

so many years. Some new texts are nevertheless being published, though we might desire more. Yet we can only work with what we possess. We have shown that two common words (of types not likely to be borrowings) are shared by Minoan and Eteocretan: *kull-* "all", *u* "and". We have also indicated that five Minoan nouns for vases and bowls are Semitic, as well as the word for "emmer wheat". But in my opinion there is a much better link to bring out the Semitic continuity from Minoan to Eteocretan. To follow its exposition requires more subtlety than the relatively simple data presented so far.

The best results in comparative studies are likely to be obtained when the investigation is based on sources of comparable subject matter. Thus the Greek and Eteocretan unilinguals have yielded positive results because they not only come from the same times and places, but deal with the same subject matter: communal oaths. The Minoan clay tablets, from Hagia Triada and other Cretan sites, cover material quite different from the Eteocretan inscriptions which are lapidary. As a result, comparing them has yielded little more than isolated words shared by Minoan and Eteocretan. The inscribed Minoan stone cult objects can, however, be profitably compared with the text on an Eteocretan cultic stone found at Psychro, the locality of an ancient Minoan shrine where old traditions were preserved into Hellenistic times.²⁵

THE PSYCHRO TEXT

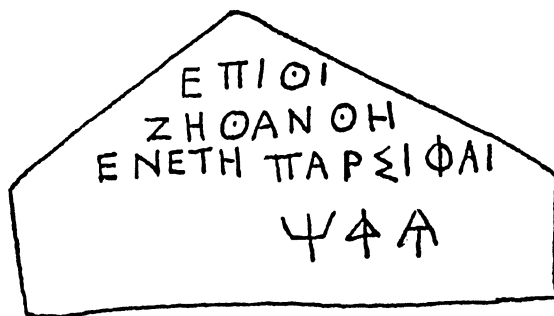


FIG. 7.

The Psychro stone begins *επιθι ζ ηθανθη*, "I have donated this engraved stone". After the alphabetic Eteocretan text, the first word is repeated in late forms of the Minoan syllabary: *i-pi-ti* "the engraved stone". I take it that an inscribed stone libation table from Palaikastro refers to itself as: *. pi-te za* . "this engraved stone".²⁶ The absence of the definite article (that later appears on the Psychro stone of about 300 B.C. as *ε*)²⁷ is due to the fact that the article first spread during the Iron Age, well after Minoan times. The Phoenician form is *pṯh z*; cf. the YH^WMLK inscription:²⁸ *pṯhy z*, "this engraved stone

²⁵ See Fig. 7.

²⁶ Text I, 4.

²⁷ *π* "the" came to be pronounced *e*. Note that Greek *ε* (like Latin "e") has the same position in the alphabet as *π* (the fifth letter).

²⁸ Donner-Röllig, I, 2, Text 10:5.

of mine". Final laryngeals are lost as consonants in Minoan and Eteocretan, at least in the cases of *h* and *'*; cf. the proper names ending in the name of the Egyptian god R': *ne-tu-ri-re* "Re-is-Divine", *a-ra-na-re* "Great-is-the-Name-of-Re", etc.²⁹ This change took place still earlier in Akkadian, but in the North-west Semitic dialects, this weakening of the laryngeals is so far unattested outside of Crete until later, when it is common in Aramaic dialects and Punic. *ḡḡavḡḡ* "I have donated" corresponds to what is written in Phoenician as *ynt*, and in Punic (which indicates the final vowel with a *mater lectionis*) *ynty* "I have donated".³⁰

The suffix *-ti* to indicate the first person singular subject with the perfect, appears as *-ti* in Minoan. A libation table from Knossos contains the formula *ta-nu-a-ti ya-sa-sa-ra-ma-na*, "I have set up this votive offering".³¹ The verb *טנא* "to set up (a votive offering)" is common in Phoenician dedications; the suffix *-ti* (of *ta-nu-a-ti*) designates 1 sg. subject ("I") with the perfect in North-west Semitic (e.g. Hebrew *תִּי*). It is suggested that the word *ya-sa-sa-ra-mx*, which occurs only on votive cultic objects, means "votive offering". The *š*-causative of the root *šlm* means "to make a delivery" in Ugaritic. Forms of *šlm* are familiar as cultic terms, such as the m. pl. *שלמים* in Hebrew = Ugaritic *šlmm*. It is suggested that *ya-sa-sa-ra-ma-na* is *ya-sa-sa-ra-m-* + suffixed *-ānā* "this"; cf. Ugaritic *hn* and Syriac *hānā* "this".

We may note at this juncture that on the libation table (I, 3) from Palaikastro *re ya-sa-[sa-ra-mx]* is probably "for a votive offering" with *re* = *l-* "for" (e.g. Hebrew *ל*), as in Eteocretan *λμο* = *לאִמֹן* "for his mother".

In Minoan dedicatory formulae, *ya-ta-no-x* is to be compared with the frequent Phoenician *ytn* "he donated" on votive stone offerings. We have already mentioned *ya-ta-no-x u ya-[...]* "he has donated it and set [it up as a votive offering]". *ytn wytn*, "he has donated and set up as a votive offering" occurs repeatedly in Phoenician dedications.³²

My publications on the Semitic character of Minoan began in 1957.³³ During the ensuing 16 years, more material has come to light and the connexion between Minoan and Eteocretan has illuminated the subject considerably. Refinements have been made, while new data have emerged. The following is an illustration of how problematic Semitic readings are being confirmed by bringing new sources to bear on them.

There are a number of wine *pithoi* from Knossos inscribed with the WINE ideogram. One *pithos* fragment from the same site has an inscription that includes the word *ya-ne* flanked by word-dividers. I assumed this word is what appears in the North-west Semitic dialects as *ayn-* "wine". The omission of the *y* in the diphthong *ay*, I tried to account for orthographically in keeping with spelling rules deduced for Linear B.³⁴ It turns out that the form *yan-* is attested in Ugaritic. Michael Astour has made the acute observation that in the Akkadian tablets from Ugarit, there is a place called Yan(a), which is written either

²⁹ For these and other Re names in Minoan, see my "Mi-ru-su-ra-re (HT 117:a:4-5)", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, Fasc. 11, 1970, 58-9.

³⁰ For references to forms of *תִּי*, see Donner-Röllig, III, 10-11.

³¹ Text I, 8 (see Fig. 6).

³² See *EML*, 28, n. 59.

³³ "Notes on Linear A", *Antiquity*, XXXI, 1957, 124-30.

³⁴ *EML*, 28.

ya-na or GEŠTIN-na.³⁵ Since GEŠTIN is the Sumerogram for WINE, yan- was the word for "wine" as in Minoan. This gives us an isogloss connecting Minoan and Ugaritic.

The Eteocretan material is such that its language is patently North-west Semitic. The long, idiomatic phrases (of types familiar in long-known East Mediterranean inscriptions) are *eindeutig*, permitting no alternative interpretation in any other language. As if this were not enough, we have the same idioms in synonymous Eteocretan variants. The idioms are furthermore duplicated in the Greek unilinguals. While we might hope for longer bilinguals, we have in any case two important short bilinguals that would alone fix the identification of Eteocretan as North-west Semitic. Neither the scholars who oppose the Semitic identification of Minoan (e.g. Was),³⁶ nor those who are bringing welcome support to it (e.g. Best)³⁷ should go on ignoring the existence of Eteocretan.

The Minoan problem may be too complex for everyone interested in it to understand at this time. Some Semitists cannot yet cope with the Minoan syllabary, and some Mycenologists are not yet up to finding their way in the labyrinth of comparative Semitics. Eventually the objective truth will prevail. Meanwhile, it is well for those who do not yet understand what has been published on the decipherment of Minoan, to remember that blind denial is no more scientific than blind acceptance. What is needed is understanding the facts of the case; not disregard, polemics, denigration, nor the polarization of scholars into opposing camps.

ADDENDA

The Psychro text can now be translated completely, thanks to Robert Stieglitz's solution of the third line: *ενετη παρ σιφαι*, "E. the son of S." While (*παρ*=) *כר* "son" is standard Aramaic, it is also used consistently in the Phoenician inscription of KLMW (= Donner-Röllig, Text 24) and thrice in a single Hebrew verse (Prov. 31:2). The text is to be translated: "I, E. the son of S., have donated this engraved stone." Stieglitz will shortly publish his identifications of the two personal names.

With the disappearance of the final consonant ' in Re names in Minoan, cf. *pwtypr* "Potiphar" (Gen. 37:36) with the older form *pwty pr*' (Gen. 46:20) (meaning "the one who is given to the sun").

³⁵ Michael Astour, "Ugarit and the Aegean" (*Orient and Occident: Essays presented to Cyrus Herzl Gordon*, ed. Harry Hoffner, 1973, 17-27); see p. 23 n. 76.

³⁶ See Daniel A. Was, "The pseudo bilinguals in the Minoan linear script of Class A", *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, XXIV, 1972, 228-37.

³⁷ Jan G. P. Best, *Some preliminary remarks on the decipherment of Linear A*, Amsterdam, 1972.

Magic Bowls in the Moriah Collection

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Magic Bowls in the Moriah Collection

Cyrus H. GORDON

The two magic bowls in the collection of Moriah Artcraft Inc. (699 Madison Avenue, New York 10021) are herewith published with the kind permission of the owner Mr. Peter Ehrenthal. They will be referred to as "(Moriah Bowl) I" and "(Moriah Bowl) II".

The standard introduction to the subject remains James A. Montgomery's *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia 1913). A fairly recent edition of the texts in Hebrew/Aramaic script is provided by Charles Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula [Montana] 1975). M. J. Geller has since then published "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls" in *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (New York 1980) 47-60. Geller's "Text A" (pp. 48-51) is inscribed for the same married couple as "Moriah Bowl I"; the two bowls share some of the same formulae and may well have been written by the same magician-scribe.

For the scribal peculiarities of the Aramaic bowls and for new developments in historic background and bibliography, see my "Two Aramaic Incantations" in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor* (Grand Rapids [Michigan] 1978) 231-244.

Moriah Bowl I

This bowl measures 17.2 cm. across the rim and is 6.6 cm. deep. There is a small circle at the center of the interior surface. The text is long, well-preserved and in a fine hand. Its resemblance to "Geller A" is striking but the differences between the two are often as illuminating as the similarities.

The scribal errors are often gross. That "his wife" is spelled 'ynttyh as well as 'yttyh is not as disconcerting as 'yšty': a conflation of Hebrew 'šw and Aramaic 'yttyh. Nor is the occasional (but not consistent) use of masculine *hdy* "this" for feminine *hdy* "this" a tribute to the scribe's scholarship. But magicians are not expected to be savants. Faking is

common enough in magical texts, from antiquity to the present. Ancient "faked" bowls have been excavated in Babylonia. They take on a variety of forms; e.g., meaningless letters for hoodwinking an illiterate clientele. But this is not the same as a modern forgery. How can we be sure that "Geller A" and "Moriah I" were not turned out recently in the same "atelier"?

To resolve this dilemma, Mr. Peter Ehrenthal transmitted "Moriah Bowl I" to "Daybreak: Nuclear and Medical Systems, Inc." (37 North St., North Branford, CT 06471) for a thermoluminescence authenticity test. The latter showed on 3/10/81 that the bowl "was last fired between 590 [= A.D. 1391] and 1690 [= A.D. 291] years ago, 1260 [= A.D. 721] most probable". Accordingly this incantation bowl is many centuries old, regardless of the scribe's foibles. There is nothing surprising about ignorance or carelessness among practitioners of the occult.

In the following transcription, an open dot (°) above a letter signifies uncertainty. Scribal omissions are enclosed in < >; scribal plusses, in { }. In the script of the Aramaic bowls, *h* and *ḥ* are identical, and they were pronounced alike. It is often hard to distinguish *d* from *r*, and *b* from *k*. Most troublesome are *w*, *y*, *n* and even final *n*, all of which can be similar. It has been decided to render the adjective meaning "hated" (in the repeated idiom "hated dreams") as *snyy* rather than *snyn*, even though the final letter is usually longer than *y* before it. There are two reasons for this decision: (1) the final letter is in any case shorter than most occurrences of final *n* and (2) the m. pl. adjective modifying m. pl. nouns in the emphatic state, is elsewhere regularly emphatic. Thus we find in our text *šwpt̄y byšy* (not *byšyn*). Doubtful words in the translation are *italicized*.

Transcription

bḥdyn šmh rbh (2) *dhw' šlyt wmpqd wḥy* (3) *wq̄tyl wnkys wḥb̄yl wmpyq kl šydy* (4) *wdywy wš̄ny wkl ḥylmy snyy wkl rwḥy byš'th* (5) *ḥtym wḥtm bytyh wdyrtyh w'ysqwpt̄y wbȳt myš̄kbyh* (6) *'tyh bnyh wbn̄tyh wkwlyh bytyh dh̄dyn mḥ'nwš br 'zrmydwk* (7) *wdh̄dyn ḥwh 'yštyh mn šydy wmn dywy wmn lyly't' wmn ḥylmy snyy wmn kl rwḥy* (8) *byš'th wmn kl šwpt̄y byšy bšb' ḥwmryn wbs̄b'h 'ysryn bšb'ḥ ḥimyn wbs̄b' <k>d* (9) *'yt̄mny' wk̄d 'yt̄bry 'lmh bšwm ṭwn ṭwn ḥṭw̄wn ṭmk bl̄k ḥštp' ḥyr'y wswpld 'ynwn yd'yn* (10) *šbw'th synyn d'bqm rbh 'tm 'lmh bhwn ḥbk šb'yn wtr̄yn šȳdyn d'ynwn šb' m'h šb'yn wšb' 'lpyn* (11) *rybw'n d'ynwn šlyt̄yn wmpq̄dyn wḥn wḥb̄lyn wq̄t̄lyn wmpq̄yn kl šydy wdywy wlyly'th wkl ḥylmy snyy wkl šwpt̄y byšy*

(12) *wkl rw̄hy byš'th dkd myktyb̄ šm̄hyn w̄m̄ym̄sr bh̄dyn {bh̄dyn} q̄my'h kl šȳdyn w̄dyw̄yn w̄lyly'th wkl h̄yl̄my sn̄yy wkl rw̄hy byš'th np̄qyn* (13) *w'r̄qyn w̄myt̄bl'yn m̄ynh w̄mn byth w'ys̄qw̄pt̄h w̄byt m̄yšk̄bh w̄mn b̄nh w̄b̄nth dh̄dyn m̄h'n̄w̄š br 'z̄r̄myd̄wk 'yt̄tyh w̄ql w̄ql d̄mm' d̄q'* (14) *w̄h̄w̄t̄ym t̄w̄k̄nyt h̄ml̄k h̄qd̄w̄š 'h̄yh 'š̄r 'h̄yh b̄t̄b't̄ ḡd̄wl̄h b̄t̄b't̄ q̄d̄w̄š b̄nȳqw̄b h̄š̄ym b̄š̄wm m̄w̄ryš̄yt b'd̄wn w̄z̄k̄r̄wn w̄b̄tr̄wn d̄yks̄wn w̄b̄tr̄wn d̄yks̄wn w̄b̄tr̄wn d̄yks̄wn* (15) *w̄b'rb'yn w̄h̄myš b̄š̄b'yn w̄tr̄tȳn b'ȳz̄qt̄ ḡb̄wr̄h d̄b̄yn̄h š̄b'yn b̄h̄nt w̄by'w̄t̄wt̄ b̄h̄w̄t̄ym k̄w̄rs̄yh b̄t̄w̄pr̄s k̄rȳk̄yn b̄h̄w̄t̄ym k̄w̄rs̄yh b̄t̄w̄pr̄ws k̄rȳk̄yn b̄h̄w̄t̄ym ḡyl̄ḡlyn b̄ḡb̄ry* (16) *h̄ȳwt̄ b̄š̄ym h̄gd̄wl̄ h̄ḡb̄wr̄ w̄h̄n̄wr' b̄hs b̄qs q̄rs b̄kl h̄t̄ym̄yn d̄h̄t̄ym̄yn w̄m̄š̄l̄m̄yn l' n̄b̄dȳryn r̄b̄h d'lm̄h k̄w̄lyh h̄t̄ym w̄m̄š̄l̄m lyh d̄hw' š̄lyt̄ w̄mp̄qd̄ w̄m̄hy w̄q̄t̄yl w̄m̄h̄b̄yl w̄mp̄yq̄ kl š̄ȳdy* (17) *w̄dȳw̄y w̄s̄t̄ny wkl rw̄hy byš'th wkl h̄yl̄my sn̄yy m̄yn̄yh w̄mn bytyh w'ys̄qw̄pt̄yh w̄byt m̄yšk̄byh w̄mn b̄nyh w̄mn b̄ntyh dh̄dyn m̄h'n̄w̄š br 'z̄r̄myd̄wk w̄dh̄dyn h̄w̄h 'yt̄tyh d̄h̄t̄ym w̄m̄h̄tm b̄š̄wm 'np̄y'yl* (18) *ml'kh m̄p̄lyg w̄b̄tr̄wn d̄q̄ry š̄m̄yh m̄d̄ḡw̄g w̄b̄š̄b''t̄hn w̄b̄ry' h̄dyn d̄m̄pr̄š 'l š̄ȳdy w̄dȳw̄y w̄s̄t̄ny w̄lyly'th w'l kl rw̄hy byš'th w'l kl h̄yl̄my sn̄yy w̄kd̄ myk̄tyb̄ š̄m̄yh̄wn w̄m̄ym̄sr kl š̄ȳdy* (19) *w̄dȳw̄y w̄lyly'th w̄s̄t̄ny w̄š̄w̄p̄t̄y byš̄y wkl h̄yl̄my sn̄yy wkl rw̄hy byš'th np̄qyn w'r̄qyn w̄b̄t̄lyn w̄m̄t̄bl'yn w̄b̄š̄wm 'd̄nḡwn 'l̄lḡwn 'ȳt̄p̄p̄ t̄m̄m̄š t̄m̄mq̄š š̄ym̄ry š̄ym̄ry h̄yr' m̄rk̄b̄wt̄ h̄ȳd̄d̄ w̄q̄ȳp̄yt̄ m̄š̄t̄ym t̄ryn* (20) *ml̄qw̄p̄ bh̄dyn š̄m̄h r̄bh w̄b̄h̄tm' h̄dyn h̄t̄ym w̄m̄h̄tm byth h̄byn h̄w' w̄dȳr̄tyh w'ys̄qw̄pt̄yh w̄byt m̄yšk̄byh 't̄tyh b̄nyh w̄b̄ntyh w̄q̄yn̄nyh dh̄dyn m̄h'n̄w̄š br 'z̄r̄myd̄wk w̄dh̄h h̄w̄h 'ȳnt̄tyh m̄n kl p̄g'y m̄n s̄t̄n m̄p̄gy' m̄p̄gy'* (21) *w̄mn kl b̄ny l̄ylyh w̄mn kl b̄ny ȳmm' w̄mn kl n̄w̄hr' w̄mn kl h̄w̄š̄kh b̄š̄wm h̄w̄p'w̄t̄ ȳh̄w̄h š̄b'w̄t̄ ȳš̄yb h̄k̄r̄w̄bȳm b̄r̄wk š̄m̄w sl̄h w̄b̄š̄wm 'np̄y'l ml'kh b̄rz' h̄dyn w̄b̄š̄m̄h h̄dyn h̄t̄ym w̄m̄h̄tm w̄m̄š̄t̄m h̄dyn b'ȳtyh w̄dȳr̄tyh* (22) *w'ys̄qw̄pt̄yh w̄byt m̄yšk̄byh 'yt̄tyh w̄b̄nyh w̄b̄ntyh w̄k̄w̄lyh b'ȳtyh dh̄dyn m̄h'n̄w̄š br 'z̄r̄myd̄wk w̄dh̄h h̄w̄h 'ȳnt̄tyh m̄n š̄ȳdy w̄mn d̄ȳw̄y w̄mn s̄t̄ny w̄mn l̄yly't' w̄mn h̄yl̄my sn̄yy w̄mn kl rw̄hy byš'th m̄n ȳw̄m' d̄yn w̄l'w̄lm b̄š̄wm 'zy'ȳzyh b̄w̄ry s̄w̄r̄hy* (23) *h̄t̄b' w'z̄gd̄ b̄rz' h̄dyn w̄b̄h̄dyn š̄m̄h r̄bh w̄b̄h̄dyn h̄tm' d̄š̄rr' d̄h̄t̄ym byh 'np̄y'l ml'kh w̄b'ȳz̄q̄tyh d'd̄n̄w̄ny'l d'r̄ȳn h̄b̄ryn w̄h̄rȳm w̄mp̄yq̄ w̄nk̄ys w̄m̄h̄b̄yl w̄mp̄yq̄ w̄h̄rȳm w̄q̄t̄yl w̄mp̄yq̄ kl š̄ȳdy w̄dȳw̄y w̄s̄t̄ny w̄lyly'th wkl h̄yl̄my sn̄yy* (24) *wkl rw̄hy byš'th m̄yn̄yh w̄mn bytyh w'ys̄qw̄pt̄yh w̄byt m̄yšk̄byh w̄mn b̄nyh w̄mn b̄ntyh 'yt̄tyh b̄n̄yh b̄ntyh w̄q̄yn <y>nyh dh̄dyn m̄h'n̄w̄š br 'z̄r̄myd̄wk w̄dh̄dyn h̄w̄h b̄t 'ym̄h 'ȳnt̄tyh b̄š̄wm 'b̄dy'l 'l š̄d'ȳ r̄m m̄ys̄w̄p̄ kl h̄z̄w̄h d̄kd* (25) *myk̄tyb̄ š̄m̄yh w̄m̄ȳh̄t̄ym kl š̄ȳdy w̄dȳw̄y w̄lyly'th wkl h̄yl̄my sn̄yy w̄p̄g'ȳ w̄p̄lyḡ w̄s̄t̄ny w̄š̄w̄p̄t̄y byš̄y w̄m̄r̄z̄bȳn w̄m̄b̄kl't' wkl rw̄hy byš'th np̄qyn w'r̄qyn w̄myt̄yn w̄b̄t̄lyn w̄m̄t̄bl'yn m̄yn̄yh w̄mn bytyh w̄dȳr̄tyh w'ys̄qw̄pt̄yh w̄byt* (26) *m̄yšk̄byh dh̄dyn m̄h'n̄w̄š br 'z̄r̄myd̄wk w̄dh̄dyn h̄w̄h b̄t 'ym̄h 'ȳnt̄tyh m̄n ȳw̄m' d̄yn w̄l'w̄lm 'm̄n 'm̄n sl̄h*

Translation

By this great name (2) which dominates and controls, and wipes out (3) and kills, and slaughters and destroys, and exorcizes all the demons (4) and goblins and satans and all the hated dreams and all evil spirits. (5) Sealed and countersealed are the house, and dwelling and threshold and bedroom; (6) his wife, his sons and his daughters; even all the *house* of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk (7) and of this Eve his wife, against the demons and goblins and liliths and hated dreams, and all evil (8) spirits, and all evil groups, by seven charms, and by seven bonds, by seven seals and by (the) seven when the universe was (9) ordained and created in the name of ṬWN ṬWN ḤṬWWN ṬMK BLK ḤŠTP' ḤYR'Y and SWPLD. They know (10) the oath SYNYN of the Great 'BQM. Ye are those in whom the universe is. ḤBK. Seventy-two demons who are seven hundred seventy-seven thousand (11) myriads dominate and control and wipe out and destroy and kill and exorcize all the demons and goblins and liliths and all the hated dreams and all the evil groups (12) and all the evil spirits which, when their names are written and transmitted in this talisman, all those demons and goblins and liliths and all the hated dreams and all the evil spirits are exorcized (13) and flee and are swallowed up away from him, and from the house, and threshold and bedroom, and sons and daughters of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk (and) his wife. And hark! And hark! A thin silence! (14) And sealing the plan of the Holy King "I-am-that-I-am" with the great seal, with the holy seal, with the one entitled "The Name". In the name of "Inheritance in the Lord and a Memorial". And after them who cover and after them who cover and after them who cover. (15) And in forty-five; in seventy-two. With the mighty signet of *understanding*. Seventy in HNT. And with signs. By him who seals the throne. With a membrane, they are bent. By him who seals the throne. With a membrane they are bent. By him who seals wheels by the *great ones* (16) of the beasts. In the Great, Powerful and Awesome Name BHS BQS QRS. Through all the sealed ones that are sealed and delivered, not *scattered*. The Great One of all the universe: Sealed and delivered to him who dominates and controls and wipes out and kills and destroys and exorcizes all the demons (17) and goblins and satans and all the evil spirits and all the hated dreams, away from him and his house and his threshold and his bedroom and from the sons and daughters of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk and of this Eve his wife. For sealed and countersealed in the name of the angel (18) 'Anfi'el who diverts after them; whose name is called MDGWG and through the seven of them, and the creator of this one that pronounces (spells) against the

demons, and goblins and satans and liliths and against all the evil spirits, and against all the hated dreams. And when their name is written and transmitted, all the demons, (19) and goblins and liliths and satans and evil groups and all the hated dreams, and all the evil spirits are exorcized and flee and are annulled and are swallowed up. And in the name of 'DNGWN 'LLGWN 'YTPP ṬMMŞ ṬMMQŞ, ŠYMRV ŠYMRV ḤYR' chariots HYDD and QYPYT MŞTYM. Two (20) MLQWP. By this great Name and by this seal are sealed and countersealed the house, --- --- and the dwelling and threshold and bedroom, wife, sons, and daughters and property of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk, and this Eve his wife, against all strokes and from the striking, striking (21) satan and from all children of the night and from all children of the day, and from all light and from all darkness. In the name of the manifestations of Yahweh of Hosts, who is enthroned between the cherubs. Blessed be his Name. Selah. And in the name of the angel 'Anfi'el with this mystery and with this Name, sealed and countersealed and stopped up are this house and dwelling (22) and threshold and bedroom, wife, and sons and daughters and all the house of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk and of this Eve his wife, against the demons and goblins and satans and liliths and hated dreams, and all the evil spirits from this day and forever. In the name of 'ZY'ZYZH BWRY (23) SWRHY the Good One and Mighty-is-luck with this mystery and with this great Name and with this true seal whereby is sealed the angel 'Anfi'el. And with the signet of 'DNWNY-El whom *curser*s bewitch. Banning and exorcizing and butchering and destroying and exorcizing and banning and killing and exorcizing all the demons and goblins and satans and liliths and all the hated (24) dreams and all the evil spirits away from him, and from his house and threshold and his bedroom and from his sons and from his daughters, his wife, his sons, his daughters and the property of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk and of this Eve daughter of Imma his wife. In the Name of 'Abbâdi'el, El Shadday, exalted beyond the limit of any imagination. (25) When His Name is written and sealed, all the demons, and goblins, and liliths, and all the hated dreams, and strokes and divisions and satans and evil groups and male and female monsters, and all the evil spirits are exorcized and flee and die and are annulled and are swallowed up away from him and from his house and his dwelling and his threshold and his (26) bedroom both of this Mahanoš son of Azarmiduk and of this Eve daughter of Imma his wife, from this day and forever. Amen, amen, selah.

Notes

Line 6: The client's parent is always the mother in these magical texts.

Line 11: *šwpṭy* with *p* = *šwbṭy* with *b* in other bowls such as Moriah Bowl II:8. Cf. Hebrew *šbṭ* "tribe". In the bowls, "the evil tribes" are the groups of wicked demons.

Line 12: The reflexive-passive *-t-* is assimilated to the first consonant of the root in *mykṭyb* and *mymsr*. — The talisman (*qmy'h*) is the bowl itself.

Line 13: *wql wql dmm' dq'* refers to I Kings 19:12.

Line 19: *mšṭym* = for Hebrew *msṭm*, from *sṭm*? See the note on line 22 below.

Line 21: With *hwp'wt yhwḥ šb'wt yšyb hkrwbym*, compare Psalm 80:2.

Line 22: *mšṭm* = *mšsṭm* in Geller A:19 which provides the correct root (*sṭm*). Note *-st-* > *-ṣṭ-* in our text with partial assimilate of *s* to the emphatic *ṭ*.

At the close of the text is a narrow rectangle with 18 vertical bars enclosed. To this day "18" is a lucky number among Jews; in Hebrew it is designated by the letters *י"ח* ("8 + 10") and is widely used as a charm (called *יח* "alive").

○

בהדרג שחרבה
 דתוא שלוט² וליפאל
 ונחנ³ נקטיל נכבוס
 נכלחכיל ומכין כל שיו
 ודינו⁴ נסאני וכל חילמי
 סניו וכל דנחובוש אתח
 חתום⁵ נמתם ביתיה נדילתיה
 נאיסקנפ תוה וכית מי שכיח
 אתתיה⁶ בעיה נבתיח נכלוח
 במפה להדון מחאניש בל
 אזרענד⁷ וך ולחדן חנה
 אנשתיוח לן שידיו ולדיו

וכן לילגאתא ולן חילמיסנין
 ולן כל דוחי⁸ בישאתח ופן
 כל שנפטי בישאוכשבע
 חולדין ובשבעה איסדין
 בשבעה חתלין ובשבע
 דאמת⁹ בישאנוכדאיתברו
 עלכח בשום טון טון
 חנוון טכך בלל חשתפא
 קוראיוסופילד אינזון ילעין
 שבו¹⁰ עתחסינין דאבזם
 דבחאתם עלכח בחון
 וזבך שבעין ותרין

Fig. 2

שורדן דאיןן שבע זאח
 שבעין ושבע אלפין
 ריבבן דאיןן שלושין¹¹
 ומכאן ומאן ומהבלין
 ומטלין ומכאן כל שירי
 נדיוני וליליא תח וכל חילטו
 סניו וכל שנפטי בישוי¹² וכל
 דואי בישא תח דכר זיכתיס
 שלחין וליכסר בחדין
 בחדין קלועה כל שנדין
 וריוני וליליא תח וכל
 חילטו סניו וכל רוחי

Fig. 3

בִּישַׁאתָה נִפְזִין¹³ נִעְבְּזִין
 וּפִיתְכִלְעִין מִיַּנְחָה וּמִן בֵּיתָה
 וְאִיסְקוּפְתָּהּ וּבֵיתָה מִיַּשְׁכְּבָהּ
 וּמִן בֶּעַח וּבְנִתָּה דְחָדִין
 בְּהַאֲנוּשׁ בִּלְמִזְרֵחַ דְּיוֹן
 אִיתְתִּיחַ וּקְלִינְקֵל רַעְמָה
 דְּקָא¹⁴ (חֹתָמִים תַּכְנוּת חֲמִלָה
 תְּקַרְנוּ שְׁמֵהּ אֲשֶׁר אֲחִיזָה
 בְּטַבְעִתְגָּ דְּוִלְחָה בְּטַבְעִת
 קְדִישָׁה בְּעִיקְוֹב חֲשׂוֹם בְּשׂוֹם
 מִן דִּישִׁיתָה בְּאֲדִין וְנִיבְדִין
 וּבְתִרְוֹן דִּיבְסִין וּבְתִרְוִין

Fig. 4

דובסקין ובתין דיבסיין
 וכאלבשן¹⁵ וחמיש נשבעון
 ותראין בעוז קרגבורח
 מכינא שבעין בחגתובו
 מותית בחיתים כולסיח
 כטופלם ברובון בחיתם
 כורסיח בטופלם ברובין
 בחותם גילגליין¹⁶ בגללי חיות
 כשיסחג דול הגבור וחנורא
 בחס בחס קרס בכל חתוכין
 דחת. כין נמשלמין לא
 גברירין רבה דעלכח

Fig. 5

כוליה חתים ומשלם לוח
 דחנא שליט ומפךד ומחי
 וקטול יכחביל ומפיך כל
 שירי¹⁷ ודיוי וסטנו וכל דרוחי
 ביש אתח וכל חילפי סניו
 מינוח ומין ביתיה ואיסקופתיה
 ובית ליש בב יחולן בגיה
 וכן בעתח דחדין לחאנש
 בר אצלמי דוד ודחדין חנח
 אותתיה דחתים ומחתם
 בשים ענאי¹⁸ לטלאכח
 בפליג בותרון דקרו שלח

Fig. 6

כרגיל ובשבע אתחזן ובריא
 חדין דמפרש על שירי ודין
 וסטני ולוליא אתחזן ועל כל דוח
 ביש אתחזן ועל כל חילצו סנין
 וכד כיכתב שמיחזן
 וכוכסר כל שודי ודיני¹⁹
 ולוליא אתחזן וסטני ושנפטי
 ביש וכל חילצו סנין וכל
 דוחי ביש אתחזן צפזין ועדין
 ובטלון ומיתבלעין ובשום
 מעצן מלגון מוטפף טממץ
 טכמקא שוכרי שוכרו

חירע מר כ בית חירד
 וקיפית מעטים תרין²⁰ מלזון
 בחרין שמה לבח ובחמא
 חרין חתים ומחרם ביתח
 חכין חוא ודילתיה ואיסקיפתיה
 ובית מושכבוח אתמחבנח
 ובנתיה וקינינה דחרין
 בחאניש בד אחרמיוך' וחרח
 חוח אינתתיה מן כל פגע
 ומן סטן מפגיע מפגיע²¹ ומן
 כל בני לוליה ומן כל בני יממא
 ומן כל נחרמא ומן כל חושכח

Fig. 8

בשים חופצת יהוה צבאות
ושנה הכרובים כלוך שמו
סלח ובשים ענפי אל ללאבה
כלזא חדין ובשמה חרון
חתיים ולחתם ומשפטם
חדין באיתיה ודיר תוח ואיסקופתיה²²
ובות כישכביה אתתיה בעת
ובנתיה וכולוח באותיה/רחדין
מהאצטבל אזור כידוך ורחוח
חוח אינתתיה לן שודו וכן
דיוי וכן סטעי ומן לילי אתא
ומן חילמי סגור וכן כל רוחי

בישאתחמן ירמאדין
 ולעולם בשום עזושזיל
 כורוסורחי²³ מטבא נשאר
 כרזא הרין ובחלין שמח רבח
 נבחדין חתרפ אדשילא רחתימ
 ביח ענכילאל מלאכח
 ובעזקתי הדערנעאל
 דאנץ חרבין וחרים נכפין
 ורכוס ונחביל ומכין יחרום
 וקטול ומכין כל שידו ודיו
 וסטני וליל ארע וכל חילחי
 סנין²⁴ וכל רוחי בישאתח מיעח

ומן בותריו ואוסין כתיח
 ובית מישכביח ופן בניה
 ומן בעתיה אתתיה כזנח
 בנתיח יקיעניה דחרין
 מחמעש בר אזור מידוך
 ורחדון חוח בת איכח
 אינתתוה בשים מכריאל
 אל שראי רם מוסיף כל
 חזוח²⁵ דבר עיכתיב שפיה
 נליחתים כל שירי וריוי
 נליליאתח וכל חילמיסניו
 ופגעזי ופלג וסטעי ושיפט

Fig. 11

בישוי וטריבין ומבכלאתא
 וכל לוחי בישא תח צפקין
 וערקין ומיתין ובטלון
 ומיתבלעין מיניה וכן ביתוח
 ודירתיח ואיסקיפתיח ובית
 מישכביח דמדין מחאנוש²⁶
 בר מזמירין נרחדין חוח
 בת מילח מיצתתיח מן
 יומאדין ולעולם ממן ממן


סלח 

Fig. 12

Moriah Bowl II

This bowl measures 14 cm. across the rim, and is 6 cm. deep. It is inscribed spirally on the interior and concluded by a line of text just below the rim on the exterior. The demon drawn in the interior center, has lines on the neck, body, hands, legs and tail; apparently indicating bonds to throttle and fetter it, rendering it harmless.

Transcription

'yn qdws̄ kyhw̄h ky 'yn bltk w'yn sw̄r (2) k'ylw̄hnnw 'sh 'ymy 'wt ltwbh
wyr'w sw̄n'y (3) wybw̄sw ky 'th yhw̄h 'zrtny wnyh̄mtny byšmk m'ry 'sw̄t'
(4) 'sw̄t' mn šmy' lbydmy' br mrt' wldw̄dy 'yttyh dytswn brh̄my (5) šmy'
'yl'h wln̄tr' wlšyzb' yt bydmy' br mrt' wyt dw̄dy bt qyymt' 'yttyh mn kl
(6) lylyt' dykry wnyqbt' wmn kl zyqyn wmyzq<y>n byšyn dykry wnyqbt'
dy dkyr šmyh̄wn wdl' dkyr (7) šmyh̄wn byqmy'h h̄dyn ywm' mn kl{n} ywmy
mn šny w̄bkw̄l 'lm' mn h̄dyn bydmy' br mrt' wmn dw̄dy bt qymt' 'yttyh (8) mn
bnyn d'yt lh̄wn wdh̄wn lh̄wn wmn b'w̄lw̄n d'lw̄y lyh bbyh mn kl šydyn wšybtyn
wpg'yn wst̄nyn wlylyn wdy<w>yn d'yt bbyt' (9) dbydmy' br mrt' wdd<w>dy
bt qy[mt' 'yttyh]

on the exterior: kl h̄...my...ythy b'h̄rmt' .. dytw̄s̄ šydyn w'bd̄[yn ...
.....] l'. 'm.....qb̄..lh lh... l' pryš m̄i h̄d' š.....

Translation

"There is none as holy as Yahweh, for there is none beside Thee, nor is there any Rock (2) like our God. Make for me a sign for good, and let my enemies see (3) and be ashamed. For Thou, O Yahweh, hast helped me and comforted me."

In thy name, O Lord of Healing! (4) Let there be health from the heavens for BYDMY' son of Martha and for Doday his wife that they may be healed through the mercies of (5) high heavens, both to preserve and save BYDMY' son of Martha and Doday daughter of QYYMT' his wife from all (6) the liliths, male and female, and from all the blast-demons and evil harmers, male and female, whose names are mentioned and whose names (7) are not mentioned in the talisman. On this day of all days, of years (*in all*) eternity, (let them be warded off) from this BYDMY'

son of Martha, and from Doday daughter of QYMT' his wife, (8) from children they have or will have, and from *their cattle* ——— (safe) from all demons, groups, blows and satans and liliths and goblins that are in the house (9) of BYDMY' son of Martha and of Doday daughter of QY[MT', his wife—————]

Notes

Lines 1-3: The incantation opens with two biblical verses invoking God (I Samuel 2:2 and Psalm 86:17). Note that the tetragrammaton in lines 1 and 3, is enclosed in a cartouche. With a preposition (*kyhw*) in line 1, all five letters are enclosed but a faint line is added between the preposition and the tetragrammaton.

Line 4: The client's name is spelled either BYDMY' or BWDMY'. As noted above, *w* and *y* (and for that matter also the *d* and *r*) are often indistinguishable.

Line 7: The right time must be selected for an effective spell. The day when this bowl was inscribed was the right day chosen from all eternity.

Line 8: *b'ylwn* is problematic. Reading liquid *r* for liquid *l*, would yield *b'yr* "cattle", which is conceivable (cf. Isbell, text 49:7), but far from certain.

Exterior: Very little is legible, let alone translatable. By itself *ytyh* could mean "him" but it might be the ending of a word like [*b*]ytyh "his house". Possibly *b'hrmt* "with the ban/excommunication" is to be read. Either *šyd* "the demon" or *šydyn* "demons" could be read. Conjecturally *w'bd[yn]* "and destroyers" might be restored. *l' pryš mn hd' š[]* could conceivably be "not pronounced from this —". But *mšhr* is possibly to be read instead of *mn hd'*.

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אין קדיש כחוח ליאין בלחך
 ואין עזר ² כאולוחנו עשה
 שמי אות לטובח וילאו שונאי
 ליביש יכו אתח יחוח עזרתני ³
 ונתלתני בושמך לארי אסותא
 אסותא ⁴ מלך שמיא לבודליא בר
 מרתא ולדודי איתתיה דותסון
 בדחלי ⁵ שמיא עילאח ולנטרא
 ולשיובא ית בודליא בר מרתא
 וית דירי בת קיומתא איתתיה
 כק כל ⁶ לולותא מיכרו ונקבתא וכן
 כל זוקין ומזוקן בושין דינדי
 ונקבתא דינדי שמיחון יליא
 דינדי ⁷ שמיחון בוק מיעח חרין
 יולא ל כקבלן יומי לן שני ~~אח~~
 עלמא לן חרין בירכיא בדלרתא
 מן דינדי בת קולתא איתתיה ⁸ לן
 בנך דאית להון יחין לחון ימ) בעולון

אלני לוח בכוח כל שיניו ושיבטי
 ונגעין ופטנין וליגין ודיין דיאח בדיתא
 דבידמיא בר כרתא ודררוהות קי¹⁰

inscribed on exterior

מאמני מניסין יתיח באמיתא
 דאמניסין שיניו ואכר
 מאמניסין מאמניסין מאמניסין
 כריש כחחא מאמניסין

demonic figure in center of interior

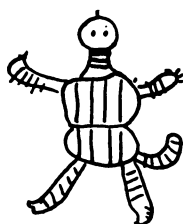


Fig. 14